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DES IDEES NAPOLEONIENNES.

ON THE
EXCEPTIONAL
OPINIONS AND POLICY
OF
NAPOLEON.

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BY

PRINCE NAPOLEON-LOUIS BONAPARTE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

Le vieux Système est à bout, le nouveau n'est point assis.—NAPOLEON.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE PRINCE	v
PREFACE	xxi
 CHAPTER I.	
ON GOVERNMENTS IN GENERAL.—General Progressive Movement.—Forms of Government.—Their Mission	7
 CHAPTER II.	
GENERAL IDEAS.—The Emperor's Mission.—Liberty will follow the same course as Religion.—Re-establishment of the Monarchy and of the Catholic Religion.—How Napoleon is to be judged	13
 CHAPTER III.	
THE HOME QUESTION.—General Tendency.—Principles of Fusion, Equality, Order, Justice.— <i>Administrative Organization</i> .—Judicial Order.—Finance.—Establishments of Charity, Communes, Agriculture, Industry, Commerce.—Public Instruction.—The Army.— <i>Political Organization</i> .—Fundamental Principles.—Accused of Despotism.—Military Government.—Reply to these Accusations	24
 CHAPTER IV.	
FOREIGN POLICY.—Napoleon's Policy.—The Emperor's different Projects.—Benefits conferred on Nations; Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Westphalia, Poland.—His views on Spain	98

CHAPTER V.

	PAGE
THE POINT AT WHICH THE EMPEROR AIMED.—Association in Europe.—Liberty in France	119

CHAPTER VI.

CAUSE OF THE EMPEROR'S FALL	128
---------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION	181
----------------------	-----

APPENDIX.

I. Letter written by Napoleon to the Minister of the Interior, respecting Communes	137
II. Extract from the Statement of the Situation of the Empire, made in 1813, by the Minister of the Interior	141
III. Budgets under the Consulate and the Empire	174

**BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR
OF
PRINCE NAPOLEON-LOUIS BONAPARTE.**

[It has been suggested that the interest of the translation of Prince Napoleon's work would be heightened by prefixing to it a biographical notice of the author; with this view, the following article has been borrowed from the *Westminster Review*, the details of which, I have received the fullest assurance are substantially correct.—*Note of the Translator.*]

CHARLES-LOUIS-NAPOLEON BONAPARTE*, third son of Louis-Napoleon, brother to the Emperor, and King of Holland, and of Hortense Eugenie, daughter of the Empress Josephine, was born at Paris on the 20th April, 1808. His birth was saluted by the cannon of the Grand Army along the whole of its line. The divorce from Josephine was not yet so much as thought of; and his name was the first inscribed in the register which was to regulate the

* The Emperor had determined that the eldest of his family should always be called Napoleon. Charles-Louis-Napoleon is now, according to the provisions of the *senatus-consultum* of the 28th Floréal, year XII. (1804), the eldest son of the Imperial family. Of his two elder brothers, one died at the age of five years, in 1807, at the Hague; the other, who had been Grand Duke of Berg, died at Forli, in the Papal States, March 17, 1831. Hence it is that since the latter period he signs himself Napoleon-Louis.

"The people," says the *plebis-actum* of the year XII., "wills that the Imperial dignity be hereditary in the descendants direct, natural, lawful, and adopted, of Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the descendants direct, natural, and lawful, of Joseph Bonaparte, and of Louis Bonaparte." On this ground it is that Napoleon-Louis now rests his claim, King Joseph having had no male issue. The male part of the Bonaparte family consists, at present, of the following members:—

right of succession in the Imperial family; it was after his that the name of the King of Rome was entered. He was not baptized until the 4th of November, 1810, when the ceremony was performed at Fontainebleau by Cardinal Fesch, the Emperor standing godfather, and the Empress Maria-Louisa godmother. The same day the Emperor and Empress held over the baptismal font the son of Marshal Lannes, the very same Duke of Montebello who, as Louis-Philippe's ambassador to Switzerland, after having, in 1836, persecuted, as eagerly as his father pursued the enemy on the field of battle, a handful of unarmed refugees, has just now completed his mission by driving his baptismal brother from the château wherein his mother has expired. Napoleon-Louis, as well as his brother, was an object of particular attachment on the part of the Emperor, his uncle, which was not weakened by the birth of the King of Rome. At the return from Elba he stood beside Napoleon during the holding of the *Champ-de-Mai*, and was presented to the deputations from the people and the army. These solemn scenes must have deeply impressed his infant mind, and his affection for France have sprung up rapidly under the caresses of the Emperor. When the latter embraced him for the last time, at Malmaison, young Napoleon-Louis, then but seven years old, showed very strong feeling; he wanted to follow his uncle; he cried out; weeping, that he would go and fire off the cannon; and his mother Hortense had much ado to pacify him*.

Meanwhile his exile commenced. Its first period elapsed at Augsburg, where he pursued, under the direction of M. Lebas, his classical studies. There, too, he acquired a familiar knowledge of German. From thence he accompanied his mother into Switzerland, to the canton of Thurgau; and there, while completing his education by attending courses of natural philosophy and chemistry, he was enabled to follow his personal inclination by applying himself to military science, first going

* *Biographie des Hommes du Jour*

through the exercises of the Baden regiment in garrison at Constance, and afterwards studying engineering and artillery at the camp of Thun, under General Dufour, formerly a colonel in the Grand Army, the same who, being as sincere a patriot as he is a skilful officer, contributed so much, during the late difficulties, to the spirited demonstrations in western Switzerland. Among those brave and honest mountaineers, who need only the destruction of the compact of 1815, a good federal constitution, and two or three enterprises against them such as this last of Louis-Philippe, to become in national feeling what their forefathers were, he could not but contract something of their instinctive frankness and love of freedom. At all events he contracted their manly personal habits ; and we find him, according to one of his letters to Hortense, of 2nd September, 1830, "engaged in military reconnoitring in the mountains, walking ten or twelve leagues a day, with his knapsack at his back, and sleeping under a tent, at the foot of a glacier*." It was there, amid those excursions, and while his brother was devoting himself to scientific and manufacturing speculations, that he was surprised by the news of that magnificent deception which it is customary to call the Revolution of July.

Their young spirits were aroused ; they, like many others, thought they saw, in the July Revolution, the national sovereignty casting off all the chains in which foreign invasion and compliant legitimacy had bound it — a victorious protest against the treaties of 1815. They saw France effacing at one stroke fifteen years of Bourbon usurpation, and recommencing the days of her independence. No more banished men ! no more ostracism ! Could the nephews of him who had erected the great Column be proscribed even there where the national flag reascended to its summit ! Their enthusiasm was raised to the highest pitch ; nor did the accession of the Duke of Orleans extinguish it. In 1829, as their mother Hor-

* *La Reine Hortense en Italie; Fragmens Extraits de ses Mémoires inédits, écrits par elle-même.*

tense informs us, Louis-Philippe had repeatedly said that, should he ever come to the throne, his first care would be to call back the Emperor's family to their country. Besides, if the principle of the Revolution was really to be followed up, war, they thought, was unavoidable, and France would have need of all her children. Napoleon-Louis wrote a letter to the King of the French, asking permission to serve in the French army as a common soldier. With what a smile—half Mephistophelian, half shop-keeping—must Louis-Philippe, the most business-like of men, have received this burst of youthful enthusiasm and simple confidence! The King of the French answered the application by a fresh act of banishment. At that moment, perhaps, it was, that an ambitious thought arose in the mind of the young *proscrit*. He might say to himself, “Since it is written that France shall have a master, why should *he* be that master, and not *I*? ”

When the Italian movement occurred, it afforded a diversion to the chagrin of Napoleon-Louis, by supplying new enthusiasm, and a new call for activity. Having left Switzerland, with his mother, in the beginning of the year 1831, he was in Italy when the movement broke out in the Papal States; and, along with his brother, he threw himself into it. They assisted in organizing the line of defence, from Foligno to Civita Castellana. They would have done more, if the efforts of their relatives on one hand, and on the other the apprehensions which their name excited in the men whom the ill fortune of Italy had placed at the head of the liberal movement, and who were solicitous to afford no pretext for dissatisfaction to the foreign powers, had not paralyzed their zeal. Though repulsed in all their offers by the provisional government,—thwarted and requested to retire, by the war minister, General Armandi,—they did not forsake the cause, but remained, the one until his death at Forli, the other until the capitulation of Ancona, in the ranks of those Italian youth, who deserved other leaders and better success.

At Ancona, Napoleon-Louis began to be in real danger. All had eagerly striven to remove him from the ranks of the insurrection, so long as it was living and threatening ; and, when the insurrection was suppressed, all united in rendering his situation difficult. Tuscany notified to Hortense that he would not be received into its territory : the Austrian minister declared that he should no longer be suffered to reside in Switzerland. King Jerome and Cardinal Fesch wrote from Rome, that should the Austrians lay hold of him, he was lost. an Austrian flotilla, the same which, in contempt of all law, captured and seized seventy Italians, and General Zucchi, was cruizing in the Adriatic: and all this came upon the poor mother while in the palazzo at Ancona, where she was keeping her sick son concealed, two rooms only separated her from the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, to whom she had been obliged to give up some of the apartments. In these circumstances, she took a resolve worthy of Napoleon himself, and determined to save her remaining son by means of that very France, which, on pain of death, the members of the family were forbidden to enter. In a state of trepidation, which she has simply and affectingly described, she travelled across the Italian Peninsula to Genoa ; and from thence, by means of a passport furnished her by an Englishman, she boldly entered France, arrived at Paris, drove to the Hôtel de Hollande, and wrote with her own hand to inform Louis-Philippe of her arrival, on the very day that M. Sebastiani, that finished statesman and diplomatist, of insight so unerring into the course of affairs, announced *positively*, in full council, that she had just landed at Malta.

We cannot now enter into a detail of the conversation which took place between Hortense and Louis-Philippe. Besides, there is nothing in it that could strike by its novelty. Any one at all acquainted with Louis-Philippe's real character, can well divine that he talked obligingly—made empty offers—spoke of his old schoolmaster reminiscences, and his concern at being

made a king—assured her that in a short time there would have ceased to be any exiles; and then, that one fine day, while Napoleon-Louis was ill, he sent M. d'Houdetot to tell his mother that *she must depart*. She departed accordingly. On the 5th of May the two exiles were still at Paris, and saw the people cast wreaths of flowers at the foot of the Column; on the 8th they were in London; and a short time afterwards they set out again for Switzerland.

No sooner had the prince arrived there, than he received an invitation from General Kniazewicz and Count Plater, Envoys from Warsaw, to repair to Poland. "A young Bonaparte," they told him, in an address of August 28th, 1831, "appearing on our shores, with the tricoloured flag in his hand, would produce a moral effect of incalculable importance." The news of the fall of Warsaw stopped him on the very point of departure.

It was in Switzerland, in 1832, 33, and 35, that he published his *Réveries Politiques*, his *Considérations Politiques et Militaires sur la Suisse*, and his *Manuel d'Artillerie*. We are not acquainted with the first of these works, which contains the draft of a constitution for France; we shall merely give, by way of note, an extract from the *acte d'accusation* contained in the *Procès de l'Insurrection*. This we give, because, though the whole is mixed up, as usual in such documents, with exaggeration and falsehood, it still bears some resemblance to the ideas and turn of thought of Napoleon-Louis*. The *Manuel d'Artillerie*, a complete production, of considerable bulk, with lithographic illustrations, has been very favourably spoken of by competent judges,

* "The *Réveries* contains the notion that France can be regenerated only by men of the blood of Napoleon, and that to them alone it could belong, to reconcile the demands of republican ideas with those of the warlike spirit. The constitution is democratic; several of its provisions are somewhat St. Simonian in their character: at the same time it expresses, in its first article, that the republic shall have an emperor; and in its last article, as if to obviate misunderstanding as to the acceptation of the term, it provides that the Imperial Guard shall be re-established. . . . Some sabre blades, seized at Strasburg before the affair of the 30th of October, have upon them the eagle, and the words *Garde Impériale*."

amongst which opinions, according to the *Biographie des Hommes du Jour*, must be included that of General Pelet, in the *Spectateur Militaire*. Neither can we dwell at length upon the *Considérations sur la Suisse*, which pamphlet obtained for its author an honourable mention in the Helvetic Diet, and the citizenship of that republic. It contains very sound views as to the necessity of a federal reorganization of Switzerland, and as to her military situation: but, in pursuance of our object, which is to make known the ideas of a man who may be destined at a future time to play some part in public affairs, we will, before proceeding to speak of the Strasburg affair, extract from it his estimate of the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon* :—

“ The Act of Mediation brought to Switzerland, together with the pacification of her internal troubles, other great advantages. It secured the sovereignty of the people; it abolished all precedence of one district over another; there were no longer any *subjects* in Switzerland—all were *citizens*. But why had the Emperor left the central government so devoid of strength? Because he would not leave it in the power of Switzerland to obstruct his projects: he desired that she should be happy, but, for a season, impotent; and, besides, his conduct towards this country is consonant to that which he adopted towards every other. Everywhere he set up governments of transition only, between the old ideas and the new. Everywhere two distinct elements are observable in what he established—a provisional basis, with an aspect of stability,—a provisional basis, because he felt that Europe sought regeneration,—an outside of

* What strikes us the most in this extract, as in all else that Napoleon-Louis has done or written, is the necessity which is felt of grounding pretensions to power upon the ulterior intentions of those who are to be invested with it,—the avowed presentment of an inevitable new order of things, to which all present order is but a transition,—the acknowledgment, more or less direct and candid, that the foundation of that new order will be the national will, the people. It is to the popular vote that Napoleon-Louis appeals; it is universal suffrage that the legitimists of the *Gazette de France* are preaching, to create sympathy in their behalf. Is there not, in all this, a compulsory homage to a principle, the triumph of which is felt to be secure?

stability, to mislead his enemies as to his grand designs, and avoid the charge of aspiring to universal empire. To this end alone it was that he crowned his republican laurels with an imperial diadem; to this end only that he set his brothers upon thrones; not for the sake of distributing sceptres among the members of his family, but that they might form, in the several countries, the pillars of a new edifice. He made them kings, that the world might believe in the stability of their institution, and not accuse him of ambition. He elevated his brothers, because in their persons alone was the idea of a change reconcileable with the appearance of being not subject to removal,—because they alone could, though kings, remain submissive to his will,—because they alone could find solace for the loss of a kingdom in becoming French princes again. But, it will be asked, when was this provisional state of things to terminate? On the conclusion of peace with Russia, and the overthrow of the *English* (?) system. Had he remained the victor, the Duchy of Warsaw would have given place to the nationality of Poland, the kingdom of Westphalia to the nationality of Germany, and the Italian viceroyalty to the nationality of Italy. In France, a liberal *régime* would have taken the place of the dictatorial system, and everywhere stability, liberty, independence, would have been seen, in lieu of imperfect nationality and transitory institutions."

The attempt made by Napoleon-Louis at Strasburg, in October, 1836, has been too often treated as a desperate enterprise, a rash and hot-headed proceeding, sprung from a moment of excitement, baseless, and devoid of calculation as to the chances of success. The French Government, though contradicting itself all the while by the extreme importance which it attaches to each movement of its enemy, could not but exert itself to destroy the idea that a Bonapartist party existed in the army; for it is to the opinion that the army would defend the present order of things against all assailants that the inactivity of its adversaries is owing. To this

opinion Laity's pamphlet gives a deadly blow; and therein lies the secret of his persecution by the government.

The appearance of Napoleon-Louis at Strasburg, was not the result of a daring momentary inspiration; it was the fruit of two or three years' preparatory labour, and of a conviction that the season for action had reached its maturity. Since 1833, Napoleon-Louis had been feeling his way. In 1833, Lafayette himself, deeply repenting his work of 1830, but too feeble to apply the remedy, advised him to seize the first opportunity of presenting himself in France. Since the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, many persons had visited him for the purpose of inducing him to get up a conspiracy.

"The prince," says M. Laity, "constantly rejected such expedients; his sole plan consisted in having, in every party, some individuals acquainted with his patriotic views, and his conciliatory spirit, and *in each regiment* one or more officers, his thorough knowledge of whose character and opinions made him sufficiently secure of their devotion to his cause. This organization, so different from a vulgar conspiracy, *was completed* as early as 1835. He then had *all that he could desire* as elements of strength; he had nothing more to do but make choice of an occasion, and secure the concurrence of the different parties.—(p. 17.) It was then that certain men, who, by their station in society, their previous conduct, and their general character, deserved his entire confidence, wrote to him, depicting the precarious situation of France, and calling upon him to hold himself in readiness. In July, 1836, the prince went to Baden that he might be nearer to France, and once more judge for himself as to the state of opinion there. During his stay at that place he was visited by a great many inhabitants and officers from the towns in Alsace and Lorraine, all expressing to him sentiments calculated powerfully to strengthen his conviction. Among the officers whom he saw at Baden was Colonel Vaudrey,

of the 4th regiment, commanding *ad interim* all the artillery at Strasburg."—(pp. 18, 19)

To this officer he spoke in detail of his views respecting the internal condition of France.

"France," said he, amongst other things, "is democratic, but not republican. By *democracy*, I mean the government of an individual by the will of all; by *republic*, I mean the government of a number, in obedience to a certain system. France desires to have national institutions as representatives of her rights, and some man or some family to represent her interests; that is, she desires to have the popular institutions of the Republic, with stability superadded; and, at the same time, the national dignity, the internal order and prosperity of the Empire, without its conquests; she might even covet in addition, the foreign alliances of the Restoration; but what is there in the present government that she can desire? My design is, to come with a popular banner—the most popular, the most glorious of all, to offer a rallying-point to all that is generous and national in every party,—to restore to France her dignity without a general war, her liberty without license, her stability without despotism: and to arrive at such a result, what must we do? We must derive from the masses all our strength, and all our right; for the masses are on the side of reason and justice."—pp. 21, 22

The colonel acquiesced, and promised him his co-operation. From that time, then, Strasburg, a patriotic city, hostile to the government, with its national guard dissolved, with about a hundred pieces of cannon, ten or twelve millions of francs in its coffers, and eight or ten thousand troops, whom there were hopes of engaging in his cause, was fixed on, in the mind of Napoleon-Louis, as the point at which to commence the execution of his enterprise. This point being settled, he resolved, before actually proceeding in the affair, to make one last experiment, evincing much of that boldness which forms one-third at least of the elements of all signal success; this

was, to go in person, and sound the opinion of the army.

“ One evening, after one of those brilliant *sétes* common to a place of such fashionable resort, he mounted his horse, in company with a friend, and traversed in a few hours the distance between Baden and the French frontier. He entered Strasburg just after night-fall. There, in a spacious apartment, one of the Prince’s friends had assembled together, on some pretence or other, twenty-five officers belonging to various descriptions of force, and whose honour could be relied on, although they were not bound by any engagement. On a sudden it was announced to them that Prince Napoleon was at Strasburg, and was about to present himself before them. They all received the intelligence with transport; and in a few moments, the Prince was in the midst of them. The officers all respectfully gathered round him; a solemn silence was preserved, more eloquent than any protestations of devotion, and when the Prince had overcome his first emotion, he delivered himself in these terms:—‘ Gentlemen, it is with full confidence that the Emperor’s nephew entrusts himself to your honour: he comes before you to learn your sentiments and opinions from your own lips. If the army be yet mindful of its great destinies—if it feel for the miseries of our country—then I bear a name that may be useful to you: it is plebeian, like our glory of the past; it is glorious, like the people. The great man, indeed, is no more; but the cause remains the same: the eagle, that sacred symbol, renowned by a hundred battles, represents, as in 1815, the disregarded rights of the people, and the national glory. Exile, gentlemen, has heaped upon me many cares and sorrows; but, as I am not acting from motives of personal ambition, tell me whether I am mistaken as to the sentiments of the army; and, if requisite, I will resign myself to living on a foreign soil, and awaiting better times.’ ‘ No,’ replied the officers, ‘ you shall not languish in exile; we ourselves will restore you to your country; all our sympathies had long been with you; we,

like yourself, are weary of the inactivity in which our youth is left, we are ashamed of the part which the army is made to play.'”—pp. 23, 24.

He quitted them and returned to Switzerland, but at the end of August, 1836, a Doctrinaire ministry being once more set over the country, the irritation which M. Thiers' blockade against Switzerland occasioned among the populations on the frontier, combined with other considerations to make him judge the moment favourable for acting, and accordingly, the time of action was fixed for October following.

It is no part of our task to follow M. Laity through the details of the attempt made on the 30th of that month. The manner in which Napoleon-Louis presented himself to the 4th regiment of artillery, the enthusiasm which his short harangue produced among the soldiers, the accession, equally spontaneous and nearly as complete, of the 46th infantry and the pontooneers; the trick made use of to keep back the 3rd artillery, which had begun to waver *, by asserting that it was not the Emperor's nephew, but an impostor, a nephew of Colonel Vaudrey, that was endeavouring to mislead the soldiers; all concur to prove, in contradiction to the assertions of the government, that if the Strasburg movement failed, it was owing only to small unforeseen circumstances—to those fatal accidents which will sometimes defeat the strongest probabilities of success,—and not at all to the fidelity of the troops to King Louis-Philippe. The arrest of Napoleon-Louis, who was pounced upon, as it were, in the midst of a tumult which had arisen, determined the issue of the business. The particulars must be read in M. Laity's account. It is more important that we should state that which completes the picture of the state of

* “To avoid belying the accounts published by authority, to the effect that the 4th artillery had alone taken part in the movement, and that the attempts upon the 3rd had failed, it was thought better to connive at the offences of the guilty individuals. Thus it was, that two officers of the 3rd artillery, who had taken flight, were quietly cashiered without any proceedings being taken against them. On the same principle, several other officers were put on half-pay, and great care was taken that their names should not appear in the discussions”—p. 37.

opinion upon which the hopes of Napoleon-Louis are grounded, and explains that liberation of his person which has been ascribed to Louis-Philippe's magnanimity.

"When the catastrophe of the Strasburg affair became known at Paris, as many as eighty general and superior officers met together, and bound themselves to protest against the Prince's being brought to trial. They commissioned an influential deputy to present the protest in their names, thinking that the government would pause before it proceeded to provoke their dissatisfaction. . . . On the other hand, several of the peers, thinking they should be called upon to try the Strasburg culprits, wrote to the King in rejection of such an office. And at Strasburg itself a plot had been laid, in which a part of the garrison were concerned, for rescuing the accused from the rigour of the law, in case of their condemnation."—p. 39.

We believe in the truth of these facts, which M. Laity affirms to be authentic.

The embarkation of Napoleon-Louis for the United States, his return to Switzerland at the time of his mother's illness, the late transactions between France and Switzerland which have compelled him once more to remove from the latter country, are all matters of notoriety, and throw no further light upon the character of the young Bonaparte. They have, however, increased his importance; they have converted a noble exile into a real pretender, surrounded by a halo of persecution, and strong in the ill-disguised terrors of the proscribing government. They have created a general belief in the power of an individual, whom Louis-Philippe, by treating him in 1836 on the same footing as he did the Duchess of Berry, had already recognised as a member of a dynasty, fallen indeed but still undestroyed, and capable of being revived. And this, we suppose, is a stroke of profound policy.

For our own part, as we have not a pilfered crown to defend, and are, consequently, not possessed by blind terror, we do not believe in the future destinies of the

Napoleon dynasty. In our opinion, as we have already declared at the outset of this notice, Bonapartism is no more: it passed away with the completion of that task of fusion and equalization which was Napoleon's great work, both in France and in Europe. At this day France has nothing to expect from Bonapartism, and Europe would have everything to fear. In speaking of Europe and of France, we must be understood to speak of the people of each country, not the government; for to the people, in the last resort, belongs at this day the decision of all important questions. Were it only a question of dynasty between Louis-Philippe and Napoleon-Louis, we should perhaps judge differently; but there is for the consideration of both, and standing between them, another thing—the nation; and the nation, we believe, will not make a revolution for the sake of re-establishing the Empire upon the ruins of Louis-Philippe's royalty—a revolution of the palace merely. She will perhaps for a long time to come remain quiet, though suffering—working out for herself a common social and political creed, of which she is now in want. But when she shall one day lift up again her degraded head, it will not be for the expulsion of a man, but of a principle, that of a financial and trading aristocracy, represented by the spurious kingship of the Orleans branch; it will not be for the sake of enjoying for a moment, as is promised her by Napoleon-Louis, the liberty of choice to relinquish it again: it will be to organize through national institutions a continuous exercise of her liberty and sovereignty, so secured as not again to be lost by any mistake she may commit as to an individual or a dynasty: in short, it will be, not to repeat experiments which have cruelly disappointed her, but to try a new one, the struggle for which, indeed, she has already gone through, but has never yet realized its peaceable enjoyment.

We believe Napoleon-Louis deceives himself when he thinks of effecting a revolution in France by means of the army. In France especially, a Prætorian revolution

is no longer practicable. There, for the last twenty years, the army has been subordinate to the nation ; and a movement begun by the army, in the name of any individual whatsoever, would excite suspicions and apprehensions of another tyranny. The army, indeed, is now most thoroughly discontented ; it has reason to be so ; it is consequently open to the reception of Bonapartism, regarding it as synonymous with warfare and activity,—just as it would be open to republicanism, if republicanism could offer it the like chances of influence and distinction ; but the nation is not Bonapartist, except towards him who erected the grand Column. In 1830, that is, in presence of the nation, Bonapartism did not even venture to show its face. Since then every political tendency has had its organization, its mouth-pieces in the public press, this one alone excepted. The journals which it endeavoured to establish died of inanition, not from the effect of seventy prosecutions, like the " Tribune," nor by the September laws, but simply for want of readers. Even in 1836, though M. Laity strives to affirm the contrary, the people of Strasburg regarded the movement with coldness, and the population of the surrounding country received the news of it with perfect indifference. Bonapartism at this day, like many other things, lives upon opposition. Napoleon-Louis might have succeeded at Strasburg ; he may yet gain over a few regiments, and be successful at some other point ; but the insurrection cannot grow to a revolution ; and all the efforts of Bonapartism will end in nothing beyond ruining Louis-Philippe, by undermining the fidelity of his army, to the ultimate advantage of another principle. Is no future career, then, open to this young man, possessed, as he has shown himself to be, of a vigorous intellect and a noble disposition ? Is no career a worthy one, it may be asked in return, but the pursuit of supreme power ? Here we gladly avail ourselves of the words of Carrel, who, by dint of reflection, and by a thorough knowledge of the spirit of his time, had conquered in himself an original tendency decidedly Bonapartist, and

who resisted the overtures of Napoleon-Louis's emissaries :—" If this young man," said he, " can comprehend the new interests of France,—if he can forget his title of Imperial legitimacy, to remember only the sovereignty of the people, then, and only then, he may be destined to play a distinguished part*."

* It may be curious to compare together the conduct of three distinguished men of our time, as regards the overtures made them by Louis-Napoleon

M. de Chateaubriand wrote him the following letter, dated Lucerne, September 7th, 1832 :—

" Prince,—I have read with attention the pamphlet which you were so kind as to put into my hands; and have set down in writing, as you desired me, some reflections naturally arising from your own, and which I had already submitted to your consideration

" You know, Prince, that my young King is in Scotland, and that, while he lives, I can deem no other to be sovereign of France. But should God, in his inscrutable designs, have rejected the race of St Louis—should our country cancel an election *which she has not sanctioned*,—and should her manners be found to render it impossible for her to become a republic,—then, Prince, there is no name better harmonizing with the glory of France than your own.

" I shall retain a deep remembrance of your hospitality, and of the generous reception given me by the Duchess of St Leu. I beg you to present to her the homage of my respectful gratitude.

" I am, Prince, with high regard,

" Your very humble and very obedient servant,

" CHATEAUBRIAND."

With respect to Lafayette, it seems that his adhesion to the views of Louis-Napoleon stood in need of fewer reservations. In 1833, he sent the Prince word that he much desired an interview with him. A meeting was accordingly appointed. Lafayette received the young pretender with great cordiality. He declared to him that he bitterly *repented*—as well he might—*of what he had helped to do in July*. He strongly recommended Napoleon-Louis to seize the first favourable opportunity of returning to France, for, said he, *this government cannot stand*, and your name is the only one that is popular. In fine, he promised to give him every assistance in his power, when the time should have arrived.

Carrel, on being applied to by one of Napoleon-Louis's friends, professed himself a thorough and disinterested republican. He expressed a favourable opinion of the capacity and disposition of the author of the *Manuel d'Artillerie*, but declined any participation in his projects regarding France.—See LAITTY's *Pamphlet*, p 18.

P R E F A C E.

If the destiny which my birth promised me had not been changed by circumstances, as nephew of the Emperor, I should have been one of the defenders of his throne, one of the propagators of his ideas; the glory would have been mine to form one of the pillars of his edifice, or to die in one of the squares of his guard, fighting for France. The Emperor is no more, but his spirit is not dead. Unable to defend with arms his tutelary power, I may at least strive by my writings to defend his memory. To enlighten public opinion, by tracing the thought that presided over his lofty conceptions, to review his mighty plans, is a task that soothes my heart and consoles me in exile. The fear of offending hostile opinions shall not restrain me; ideas sheltered by the ægis of the first

genius of the modern era, may be fearlessly avowed, and cannot vary with the breath of the political atmosphere. An enemy to every absolute theory, and to every moral dependency, I am under engagements to no party, to no sect, to no government; my speech is as free as my mind,—and liberty is dear to me.

Carlton House Terrace,
July, 1839.

ON THE
OPINIONS & POLICY OF NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER I.
ON GOVERNMENTS IN GENERAL.

General Progressive Movement.—Forms of Government.—Their Mission.

ARE all the revolutions by which nations have been agitated, all the efforts of great men, be they warriors or legislators, to end in nothing? Are we incessantly moving in a vicious circle, where light succeeds to ignorance, and barbarism to civilization? Away with so afflicting an idea; the sacred fire which animates us cannot but lead us to results worthy of the divine power which inspires us. In spite of every obstacle, the amelioration of society moves onward, and knows no limits but those of the universe.

“The human race,” in the words of Pascal, “is a man who dies not, and is always advancing towards perfection.” The image is sublime, for there is truth in it, and depth of thought! The human race dies not, nevertheless is liable to the ailments of humanity; advances constantly towards

perfection, but is not exempt from human passions, a perilous though indispensable arsenal, to which we owe our elevation or our ruin.

This comparison furnishes an epitome of the principles on which the vitality of nations is based, a vitality with two natures and two instincts, the one divine, tending towards perfection, the other mortal, tending towards corruption.

Society, therefore, contains two hostile elements: the one of immortality and improvement, the other fraught with disease and disorganization.

The several generations, as they follow one another, participate in these same elements.

All nations have one sentiment in common, the desire of improvement; each has a distinguishing characteristic in the peculiar difficulty which paralyses its efforts.

Governments are established to assist society in its efforts to overcome the obstacles that impede its progress. Their form varies according to the nature of the evil to which they are called on to apply a remedy, according to the epoch and the nation they are called on to direct. Their task never has been, and never will be, easy, because the two hostile elements of which our existence is composed, demand the application of different means. The divine essence demands only liberty and occupation for its developement; the mortal principle of our nature demands a guide and a support.

A government, therefore, is not what a distin-

guished writer has called it,—“*a necessary ulcer* ;” but rather the beneficent power that imparts motion to all social organization.

When we unfold the tablets of history, two great phenomena are constantly before our eyes ; on the one hand, an unvarying system, obedient to a regular impulse of progression, and always maintaining the advance it has once effected ; on the other hand we behold flexibility and change ; the one is the principle of progress, the other the mere form of government.

The principle of progress never disappears, though often displaced ; it passes from among those who govern to those who are governed, but the tendency of revolutions is to re transfer it to the ruling power. When this principle actuates the government, its advance is bold, for it leads ; when it actuates the masses its advance is slow and unsteady, for then it struggles. In the former hypothesis, a confiding people allows itself to be governed ; in the latter, the people is desirous of being its own agent.

Since the existence of the world this progress has been incessant. To recognise it we need only trace the march of civilization, marked as it is by the great names that measure the intervals. They rise in eminence as we approach the goal. From Alexander we proceed to Cæsar, from Cæsar to Constantine, from Constantine to Charlemagne, from Charlemagne to Napoleon.

The forms of government, on the contrary, do not obey unvarying laws. Elective and hereditary power have for centuries been struggling for pre-eminence, and have prevailed alternately, as science and knowledge, justice and strength, have been arrayed on either side. Governments cannot therefore be based on never varying forms. A form of government that shall promote the happiness of every nation, is an idea as visionary as that of a panacea for the cure of all maladies. "Every question of political forms," as has been said by Carrel*, "is to be solved by the condition of society, and by that alone." In these words a truth of mighty import is comprised: in politics all is relative, nothing absolute.

If we admit the above ideas, it is impossible we should attach much importance to the learned distinctions set up by political writers between the government of one and the government of many, between democratic and aristocratic governments†.

* *Histoire de la Contre-Révolution en Angleterre.* Introduction, p. 3.

† Far from me be the idea of discussing the merits of monarchy and republicanism. I leave it to philosophers and metaphysicians to solve a problem, which, I believe, admits of no immediate solution. In monarchy I behold neither the divine principle, nor the manifold vices which many fancy they discover there; to me, the hereditary system is merely a guarantee for the integrity of a country. To appreciate this opinion, it is sufficient to recall the fact, that the two monarchies of France and Germany arose about the same time, from the partition of the empire of Charlemagne; in Germany the crown became purely elective, in

All have been good in their kind, since all have had a duration, and for many nations that form has been the best, of which the duration has been the longest. But, *à priori*, the best government is that which best fulfils its mission, that is to say, which fashions itself according to the exigencies of its epoch, and which modelling itself according to the existing state of society, prepares an easy road for advancing civilization.

I regret to say, that at the present day I see only two governments that fulfil their providential mission; I mean the two colossi at the extremities, the one of the Old World, and the other of the New*. While our old European centre is like a volcano consuming itself in its crater, the eastern and the western nation are unhesitatingly advancing towards improvement, the one obedient to the will of an individual, the other guided by freedom.

Providence has confided to the United States of America the care of peopling and civilizing the immense territory which stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Pole to the Equator. The

France it remained hereditary. Germany, after a lapse of eight hundred years, saw herself divided into about twelve hundred different states, and her nationality was lost; while in France, the hereditary principle led to the extinction of all the petty sovereignties, and to the formation of a great and compact nation.

* I do not mean to denounce all the other governments of Europe as essentially bad; I merely mean to say, that at the present moment there is not one of them, that is equal to the mission assigned to it.

government, a simple administration, has had hitherto merely to practise the old adage, *Laissez faire laissez passer*, to favour the irresistible instinct which impels the population of America towards the west.

In Russia, it is to the imperial dynasty we are indebted for the whole of that movement which for a century and a half has been rescuing that vast empire from barbarism. The imperial power has to struggle against all the time-honoured prejudices of our antique Europe ; it must centralize, as much as possible, in the hands of an individual, the whole energy of the state, in order to destroy the abuses which perpetuate themselves under cover of communal and feudal privileges. It is from Russia alone that the East can receive the ameliorations that await it.

But thou, France, the land of Henry IV., of Louis XIV., of Carnot, of Napoleon ; thou who wert ever for Western Europe the source of progress ; thou to whom is given to unite the two great supports of empire, the genius of peaceful arts, and the genius of war ; hast thou no longer a mission to fulfil ? Are thy force and energy to be wasted in incessant struggles with thy own children ? No, such cannot be thy destiny ; the day will soon arrive, when to govern thee it will be necessary to feel, that thy part is to throw into every treaty, thy sword of Brennus, in behalf of civilization !

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL IDEAS.

The Emperor's Mission.—Liberty will follow the same course as Religion.—Re-establishment of the Monarchy and the Catholic Religion.—How Napoleon is to be judged.

WHEN in consequence of the inevitable modification of society, ideas which have long governed the world, become divested of their force and empire, others arise, destined to occupy the place of their predecessors. These new ideas, though bearing within themselves the germ of reorganization, proceed by a disorganizing action. Such, however, is the presumption of new-born ideas, and so dear is the prospect of duration to our ephemeral existence, that at every stone torn from the ancient edifice, they proclaim the ruins on which they build, a new and indestructible foundation; until a fresh crumbling of the ruins proves that they have shaken the fabric, but have constructed nothing, and that more solid materials are required to secure their work from being buried under the ruins of the past.

The ideas of '89, ideas which, after having long agitated Europe, will eventually secure her repose, appeared already in '91 to have destroyed the ancient order of things, and to have created a new one; but the birth of freedom is ever painful, and

the work of centuries is not destroyed without fearful shocks. The year '93 followed closely in the train of '91, and ruins were seen to topple upon ruins, and changes to succeed to changes. Napoleon at length appeared; he reduced this chaos of mingled glory and nothingness, separated truth from passion, the elements of success from the germs of death, and brought into combination those great principles, the incessant struggle of which endangered the result in which all were interested.

Napoleon, soon after his appearance on the theatre of the world, became sensible that the task had devolved upon him to be the testamentary executor of the revolution. The destructive fire of faction was extinguished, and when the dying but unconquered revolution consigned to Napoleon the execution of her last will, her words may be supposed to have been to this effect: "Establish upon solid foundations the fruits of my labours, restore union to divided France, heal her wounds, repulse the feudalism of Europe now leagued against her, enlighten the nations, and give a wide extent to the profound designs that I may have brought into action; be to Europe what I have been to France; and shouldst thou even be called on to water with thy blood the tree of civilization, and should thy views even be misconstrued, and thy family be driven to wander without a home over the surface of the globe, never abandon the sacred cause of France, but rather achieve its triumph by

every means that genius may suggest and humanity approve."

This noble mission was accomplished by Napoleon. His task was arduous. He had to consolidate upon new principles a society still agitated by rancour and hatred, and to strengthen his fabric, he had to avail himself of the instruments which had till then served only to destroy.

It is the fate of every new-born truth to alarm rather than to ingratiate itself, to offend rather than to convince. The longer it has been compressed, the greater is the vigour with which it starts into life ; having obstacles to overcome, it struggles and overthrows, till understood and adopted by the many, it becomes the basis of a new social order.

Liberty will follow the same course as Christianity. Armed with destruction to the ancient social system of Rome, Christianity long continued to excite the dread and hatred of the people. It was only by the blood and persecution of its martyrs that the religion of the cross penetrated into the heart and conscience of the many, till at length armies and kings were enlisted in its cause, and Constantine and Charlemagne led it triumphantly through Europe. Religion then laid down her arms of strife, unveiled to all the principles of peace and order, and became to power a support, to society an element of organization. Liberty has already passed through the same stages. In 1793, she was the terror of nations as of monarchs ; but

soon she assumed a milder form, and, following in the train of our armies, she insinuated herself into the hearts of all. In 1815, all parties adopted her banner, and borrowed a moral force by clothing themselves with her insignia. The adoption was not sincere, Liberty was constrained to reassume her arms. The renewed struggle excited new terrors, but let us hope that these will shortly cease, and that Liberty will again display her festive robes, and never more lay them aside.

No one more than the Emperor Napoleon has contributed to accelerate the reign of liberty, by rescuing the moral influence of the revolution, and by assuaging the fears which she inspired*. Had it not been for the Consulate and the Empire, the revolution would have been but a mighty drama that leaves glorious recollections but few traces. The revolution would have been swallowed up by the counter-revolution. Napoleon, on the contrary, planted in France and disseminated throughout Europe, the most important benefits of the great crisis of '89, and, to use his own words, he "purified the revolution, strengthened thrones, and ennobled the nations." He purified the revolution by separating the truths which it had made triumphant from the passions that obscured them ; he

* The dread which the French revolution caused to the monarchs of Europe, arrested the reforms, which, before 1789, had been introduced into Austria by Joseph II., and into Italy by Leopold.

strengthened thrones by making authority honoured and respected ; he ennobled the nations by giving them a consciousness of their own force, and by conferring on them institutions which elevate man in his own eyes. The Emperor may well be deemed the Messiah of modern ideas ; for in the moments that succeed to a social overthrow, the essential point is, not to apply principles in all the subtlety of their theory, but rather to direct the genius of regeneration, to identify it with the popular sentiment, and to lead it boldly towards the desired goal. To be equal to such a task, it is necessary, as Napoleon himself expressed it, that “ your nerve should harmonise with that of the people,” that the sentiments of both should be in common, and your interests should be so identified, that both must stand or fall together.

This identification of sentiment, instinct, and will, constituted the Emperor’s real strength. It would be a grave error to imagine that a great man is all-powerful, or derives his strength from himself alone. To be able to profit by circumstances, to divine an end, and to guide towards its attainment, are the essential qualities of genius. “ I have a care,” said Napoleon, “ not to fall into the error of your men of modern systems ; not to believe the wisdom of nations centering in myself and my conceptions. The genius of the workman consists in knowing how to employ the materials that are within his reach.”

Few things are more necessary to a government than a perfect knowledge of the country governed, and of the elements of strength upon which it has to rely. The ancient monarchy had to rely upon the nobility and clergy, the two classes then possessed of the two chief elements of strength, territorial wealth and moral influence. The revolution, by destroying the feudal edifice, had displaced those interests, had created new sources of power and opulence, and given birth to new ideas.

An attempt to bring back the ancient system, or to lean upon a trunk whose roots had withered, would have argued folly. The Emperor, though he restored the ancient forms, based his authority upon a young and vigorous sapling—the new ideas. He re-established religion, but without making the clergy an instrument of government. The transition from a republic to a monarchy, and the re-establishment of a church, far from causing apprehension, tranquillized the public mind ; for existing interests were not offended, a moral and political want was satisfied, and the wishes of the many were complied with. Had these changes, in fact, not harmonised with the sentiments and ideas of the majority, Napoleon would not have effected them, for it was his aim to augment, not to weaken, his moral ascendancy. Changes so great had never been brought about with less effort. Napoleon had only to say, “Let the churches be opened,” and the faithful crowded to them with eagerness. He said

to the nation, "Do you desire an hereditary power?" and the nation replied in the affirmative by four millions of votes*. The fact is, it is difficult for the mind to divest itself altogether of the past; a generation, like an individual, is governed by precedents. Our sentiments for the most part are but traditions. A slave to the recollections of his infancy, a man is unconsciously acted on throughout life by the impressions received in youth, by the trials and influences to which he has been exposed. The life of a nation is subject to the same general laws. A republic of five hundred years is not to be metamorphosed in a day into an hereditary monarchy, nor an hereditary monarchy of fourteen hundred years into an elective republic.

Let us turn our eyes to Rome. During five hundred years her republican forms placed her at the head of the world; during five hundred years the elective system was fertile in great men, and the dignity of consul, senator, or tribune, eclipsed the thrones of kings, who became known to the Romans only when bound to the triumphal car of

* Some persons have questioned the legitimacy of such an election, but in so doing they attack each of the republican constitutions, none of which obtained so powerful a sanction.

The Constitution of 1791 was not submitted to the votes of the people.

			Total No. of votes
"	"	1793	1,801,918
"	"	the year III	1,057,390
"	"	the year VIII	3,011,007
"	"	the Consulate	3,568,888
The Consulate for Life			3,521,675
Hereditary Empire, 1804			
			11,600
			49,977
			1,562 .. 3,012,569
			8,374 .. 3,577,259
			2,579 .. 3,524,254

the victor. When Rome was no longer qualified to preserve these secular institutions, to which her power and greatness had been owing, she still retained, for six hundred years longer, under her emperors, the venerated forms of the republic. Even so, the French republic, succeeding to a monarchy of fourteen hundred years, which, by the mere principle of monarchical centralization, and in spite of the vices and errors of her kings, had made France great and glorious, not only arrayed herself quickly in the ancient forms, but at the very outset preserved the distinctive character of monarchy, by proclaiming and strengthening, in every practicable way, that centralization of power which had been the vital element of French nationality.

Napoleon and Cæsar, placed in analogous circumstances, were impelled by similar motives to adopt opposite lines of action. Both were desirous, under the ancient forms, to constitute according to new principles*. Cæsar could not but wish to

* The Emperor, in his *Précis des Guerres de César*, sufficiently proves that that great man never did, never could have wished to make himself a king. "When he had conquered," says Napoleon, "Cæsar governed only as consul, dictator, or tribune. He confirmed, therefore, instead of discrediting, the ancient forms of the republic. Even Augustus, when the republican generations had been destroyed by proscriptions, and by the wars of the Triumvirs, never contemplated the erection of a throne. It would have been a strange policy in Cæsar, to displace the curule chair of the conquerors of the world, for the rotten and contemned throne of the conquered."

preserve the republican forms, Napoleon to re-establish those of monarchy.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the ideas of all tended to make the power of the Emperor hereditary, whether owing to the traditional force of ancient institutions, to the prestige which surrounded the individual invested with authority, or to the wish for an order of things presenting a better guarantee for stability. The difficulty of establishing a republic may, perhaps, be explained by another consideration. Since 1789, France had been essentially democratic, and in a great European state it is difficult to conceive the existence of a republic without an aristocracy*.

There exist in every country two distinct and often clashing interests: general interests and individual interests. These may be denominated the permanent and the transient interests. The former remain unchanged through succeeding generations, their spirit being transmitted from century to century, by tradition rather than by calculation. These interests can be represented only by an aristocracy, or where this does not exist, by an hereditary family. The transient or private

* In the *Histoire de la Révolution*, by Thiers, I find an analogous idea. Tome VIII. p. 12. "En y réfléchissant mieux, on aurait vu qu'un corps aristocratique convient plus particulièrement aux républiques." An aristocracy, it may be added, requires no chief, but the very nature of a democracy is to personify itself in an individual.

interests, on the contrary, are constantly modified by circumstances, and can be understood only by a popular delegation, which, constantly renewed, may become a faithful expression of the wants and wishes of the masses. France no longer possessed, and was no longer capable of possessing, an aristocracy, that is to say, those privileged bodies whose influence is great only because time has consecrated their authority. The republic, therefore, would have been deprived of that conservative power, which, though often oppressive, is still the faithful guardian of general and permanent interests, and which in Rome, Venice, and London, secured for centuries the greatness of the commonwealth, by a simple perseverance in a national system.

To obviate the want of fixedness and sequence, the great defect of democratic republics, it became requisite, for the preservation of general interests, to establish an hereditary family, whose power might be based upon the democratic spirit of the nation.

Opinions may differ on the justice of these considerations ; Napoleon may be blamed by some for having placed a diadem over his republican laurels, and the French people for having desired and sanctioned the change ; but upon one point all must be agreed, who recognise a great man in the Emperor, namely, that even if he deceived himself, his views must at least have been on a level with the greatness of his mind. The extreme of incon-

sistency would be to attribute to a lofty genius all the littleness of mediocrity. Nevertheless, there are grovelling spirits, who, jealous of superior merit, would fain attribute to it their own paltry passions. Instead of feeling that a great man could be guided only by great conceptions, and by state motives of the most exalted range, such men will say:—"Napoleon made himself an Emperor from personal ambition; to gratify his self-love he surrounded himself by the illustrious names of the ancient monarchy; he wasted the treasures and the purest blood of France, to augment his own power, and erect thrones for his brothers; and he ended by espousing an Austrian archduchess, that he might introduce a veritable princess to his bed."—"Have I, then, reigned over pygmies in intelligence, that they have so little understood me!" exclaimed Napoleon, in a moment of vexation, at St. Helena.—But no; his mighty spirit may rest consoled! The many have long done justice to him; each day that reveals some wretchedness to which he had applied a remedy, some evil that he had extirpated, sufficiently explains his noble views. His lofty conceptions, which brighten the more as the present becomes obscured, shine like luminous beacons, to show beyond the darkness of the tempest a haven of security in the future.

CHAPTER III.

THE HOME QUESTION.

General Tendency.—Principles of Fusion, Equality, Order, Justice.—*Administrative Organization*.—Judicial Order.—Finance.—Establishments of Charity; Communes, Agriculture, Industry, Commerce.—Public Instruction.—The Army.—*Political Organization*.—Fundamental Principles.—Accused of Despotism—Military Government.—Reply to these Accusations.

(THE several governments that had succeeded each other from 1789 till 1800, had, notwithstanding their excesses, led to mighty results. The independence of France had been maintained, feudalism destroyed, and salutary principles disseminated. Nothing, however, had been established on a solid basis; too many adverse elements were still in presence of each other.

On Napoleon's accession to power, the genius of the legislator consisted in judging at a glance of the relations which existed between the past and the present, between the present and the future.

The following questions had to be solved:—

What are the ideas that have passed away, never to return?

What are those likely eventually to triumph?

Lastly, What ideas are those which admit of an immediate application, and which will accelerate the reign of those that will ultimately prevail?

At a glance the Emperor made this distinction, and while he foresaw future possibilities, he contented himself with the realisation of those which were immediately practicable.

The great difficulty of revolutions is to avoid confusion in popular ideas. The duty of every government is to resist false ideas, and to direct those which are true, by boldly placing itself at their head ; a government that, instead of leading, allows itself to be hurried along, is hastening to its own destruction, and compromises society, instead of protecting it.

By making himself the representative of the true ideas of his age, it was, that the Emperor acquired so easily a most powerful ascendancy. As to pernicious ideas, he never openly attacked them, but rather parleyed with them and outflanked them, till he subdued them by moral influence ; for violence, he knew, is of no avail against opinions.

Having always an object in view, he employed, as circumstances arose, the readiest means to attain it.

What was that object ?—Liberty !

Yes, Liberty ! and the more deeply we study the history of Napoleon, the more we shall be convinced of this fact. Liberty is like a river, which, that it may fertilize and not destroy, must have a broad and deep bed prepared for its course. If in its regulated and majestic course, it remain within

its natural limits, the regions which it traverses will bless its passage ; but if it come as a torrent, bursting its banks, it is looked on as the most fearful of evils ; it awakens hatred ; and men, in their blindness, reject liberty, as though they would banish fire because it may burn, or water because it may overwhelm them.

Liberty, you will say, was not secured by the Imperial Code ? the word was not indeed placed at the head of every law, nor placarded at every crossing, but there was not one of the laws of the Empire, that did not pave the way for its peaceful and certain reign.

When parties are incensed against one another, when violent animosities prevail, these parties must disappear, these animosities must be appeased, before liberty can be possible.

In a country democratised, as France was, the principle of equality is not generally applied ; it must be grafted upon every law, before liberty can be possible.

When public spirit, religion, and political faith, no longer exist, one of the three, at least, must be re-created, before liberty can be possible.

When successive changes in the constitution have shaken the respect due to the laws, legal influence must be re-created, before liberty can be possible.

When the ancient system of morals has been destroyed by a social revolution, new morals, in

harmony with the new principles, must be re-created, before liberty can be possible.

When the government, whatever its form may be, has lost all force and *prestige*; when order no longer exists, either in the administration or the state, the *prestige* must be re-created, and order re-established, before liberty can be possible.

When in a nation, the aristocracy has ceased to exist, and the army has become the only organised body, civil order, based upon a fixed organisation, must be re-constituted, before liberty can be possible.

Lastly, when a country is at war with its neighbours, and contains the partisans of foreign enemies within its own bosom, the enemy must be subdued, and safe alliances entered on, before liberty can be possible.

Nations that would reap, before they have tilled the field, before they have scattered the seed, and given it time to germinate and ripen, are to be pitied. It is a fatal error to believe, that a declaration of principles is sufficient for the constitution of a new order of things.

After a revolution, the most essential point is, not to make a constitution, but to adopt a system which, based upon popular principles, may possess the necessary force to bear a new construction, and which, while triumphing over the difficulties of the moment, may be sufficiently flexible to assimilate itself to circumstances. Besides, is it possible,

after a struggle, that a constitution should be secure from reactionary passions ? and how dangerous is it to adopt the exigencies of the moment as general principles* ! "A constitution," in the words of Napoleon, "is the work of time, and it is impossible to leave to it too large a space for improvement."

Let us review the actions of the Emperor, from the positions we have just laid down. To judge is to compare. Let us then compare his reign with the period that immediately preceded, and with that which succeeded it. Let us judge his views, by what he performed when victorious, by what he left behind him, notwithstanding his defeat.

When Napoleon returned from Egypt, all France received him with transport; he was looked on as the saviour of the revolution, then at the last gasp. Wearyed by so many successive efforts, tossed to and fro by so many contending factions, France had

* A thousand instances might be cited in support of this assertion. Let us content ourselves with recalling that in 1792, to prevent the authorities from re-establishing the inequality of heritage, citizens were utterly deprived of the faculty of disposing of their property by will. Napoleon corrected this reactionary law. Under the restoration, the Swiss troops were detested, as being better paid than the French troops. After the revolution of 1830, it was not thought sufficient to send those troops away, but an article was introduced into the Charte, prohibiting the government from ever taking foreign troops into its pay. One year later, the misfortunes of Poland drove 6000 Polish troops to seek refuge in France; there was a wish to form them into regiments, but the recent reactionary law stood in the way.

allowed herself to be lulled by the music of victory, and seemed about to lose the fruits of all she had achieved. The government was without moral force, without principle, without virtue. Contractors and speculators were at the head of society, and held the foremost rank amid the general corruption. Generals in command of armies, Championnet, for instance, at Naples, and Brune, in Lombardy*, feeling their strength, ceased to obey the government, and imprisoned its representatives. Credit was gone, the treasury empty, the funds down to 11 per cent. ; peculation reigned in the administration, the most odious brigandage infested France, and the West was in a constant state of insurrection. The ancient régime was advancing with fearful rapidity, since the axe of the lictor had no longer figured by the side of the cap of liberty.

Liberty and equality were in every mouth, but each party wished to possess them exclusively. "We will have equality," was the cry of some, "but we will not concede the rights of citizenship to the families of nobles, or to those of emigrants, we will leave a hundred and forty thousand Frenchmen^t in a state of exile." "We will have equality," was the cry of others, "but we will not allow the Conventionalists to be employed by the state. We will have liberty, but we will maintain the law that

* THIERS' *Histoire de Révolution*, tome x. p. 217.

† This was the number stated in the Report of the Minister of Police, in the year VIII.

condemns to death those whose writings tend to restore the ancient régime. We will maintain the law of hostages, which destroys the security of two hundred thousand families*. We will maintain the impediments to the free exercise of religion, &c. &c."

Such a contradiction between the principles professed, and the manner of applying them, tended to introduce confusion into opinions and things. Such could not but continue to be the case, as long as there did not exist a national power, which, by its stability, and the consciousness of its strength, might be exempt from passion, and might afford protection to all parties, without sacrificing anything of its own popular character.

Men, in all ages, have had the same passions. The causes which produce great changes are different, but the effects are often the same. In troublous times, the oppressed have almost always been seen to claim liberty for themselves, and, when obtained, to withhold the enjoyment of it from those who had been their oppressors. In the seventeenth century there existed in England a religious republican sect of men, who, persecuted by clerical and state intolerance, resolved to abandon the country of their ancestors, and to seek in a wilderness beyond the ocean, that sweet and sacred liberty which the old world denied them. Victims of intolerance, and conscious of the evils it inflicts, in the country

* BIGNON, tome i. p. 11.

they are about to found, these free-minded men will surely set an example of justice to their oppressors ? Alas, for the inconsistency of the human heart ! The first law of the Puritans in the new society founded by them in Massachusetts, enacted the pain of death against those who abandoned their religious faith !

The spirit of Napoleon was never either exclusive or intolerant. Superior to the littleness of party passion, generous as the nation he was called to govern, the Emperor always professed the maxim, that in politics evils must be redressed but never avenged.

The abuse of royal power, the tyranny of the nobility, were the cause of that stupendous reaction known as the Revolution of '89, which in its turn led to other opposite and mischievous reactions. With Napoleon every reactionary passion ceased. Strong in the assent of the people, he proceeded rapidly to the abolition of every unjust law, he healed every wound, rewarded every merit, adopted every glory, and made all Frenchmen co-operate to one end,—the prosperity of France.

Scarcely had the First Consul been invested with power, when he revoked the laws which excluded the relatives of emigrants and of the late nobility from the exercise of political rights and public functions. The law exacting a forced loan was repealed, and replaced by an extraordinary subvention in addition to the contributions. Na-

poleon put an end to the requisitions in kind, and abolished the law of hostages. He recalled the writers, such as Carnot, Portalis, and Siméon, who by the law of the 19th Fructidor, of the year V, had been condemned to deportation. He allowed the Conventionists Barrère and Vadier to return. He opened the frontiers of France to more than a hundred thousand emigrants, among whom were the members of the Constituent Assembly. He pacified the Vendée, and organized the municipal administration of Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux. One day, writing to the Council of State, he said, "To govern by means of a party, is to become sooner or later the dependant of that party. I will fall into no such snare; my party is the nation. I will make use of all who are able and willing to go along with me. For this reason, I have composed my council of state, of Constituants, to whom the name of *Feuillans*, or moderate men, has been given, as Defernon, Roederer, Regnier, Regnaud; of Royalists like Devaines and Dufrèsne; even of Jacobins, as, for instance, Brune, Réal, and Berlier. I esteem honest men, whatever party they may be." Quick to recompense recent services, and to illustrate great recollections, Napoleon caused the statue of Condé, the ashes of Turenne, and the heart of Vauban, to be placed in the Hotel of the Invalides by the side of the statues of Hoche, Joubert, Marieau, Dugommier, and Dampierre. At Orleans he revived the memory of Joan of Arc, at Beauvais that

of Jeanne Hachette. In 1800, the deliverance of a great citizen, Lafayette, was made the imperious condition of a treaty. At a later period, officers who had openly opposed the consulate for life (Drouot, Lobeau, Bernard) became his aides-de-camp. Senators who had voted against the establishment of the Empire, were treated in the same spirit of kindness. Ever faithful to the principles of conciliation, the Emperor, in the course of his reign, granted pensions to the sister of Robespierre and to the mother of the Duke of Orleans*. He relieved the distress of the widow of Bailly, President of the Constituent Assembly, and supported, in her old age, the last descendant of the house of Duguesclin.

To combine every material of national force against the foreign enemies of France; to reorganize the country upon principles of equality, order, and justice; such was Napoleon's task. Many clashing elements presented themselves to his hand, and, according to his own expression, he amalgamated instead of destroying them.

Divisions existed, not only between political parties, but also among other constituted bodies. The clergy was divided between the old and the new bishops,—the great and the little church,—the refractory priests and those who had taken the

* The Emperor granted to the mother of Louis Philippe a pension of 400,000 francs, and to the Duchess of Bourbon one of 200,000.

oaths of the Revolution. The refractory ecclesiastics were the favourites of the Pope. Availing themselves of the influence which they derived from the countenance of the head of the Church, they misled the minds of many by the writings from abroad, which they disseminated through the country. The Emperor, by his Concordat, deprived the erring flock of their chief, and led the clergy back to ideas of concord and submission*. The republic of letters was divided between the new Institute and the ancient Academy. He blended the two societies, by attaching the Academicians to the Institute, and the learned thenceforth lived in peace, combining their intelligence, to enlighten the nation, and accelerate the progress of science. There existed ancient names, of which some were connected with glorious recollections, titles of which some had not entirely lost their influence. Napoleon effected an alliance between ancient and modern France, by confounding these hereditary titles with new titles acquired by public services. The Jews constituted a nation within the nation, and some of their tenets were inconsistent with the civil laws of France. The Emperor caused the great Sanhedrim to be convoked,

* By the third article of the Concordat, the Pope bound himself to obtain the renunciation of the emigrant bishops, whose mandates and pastoral letters continued to disturb their ancient dioceses. The thirteenth article sanctioned the alienation of ecclesiastical property, and declared the possession incommutable in those who had acquired them.

and that assembly, in accord with the Imperial commissioners, reformed in the law of Moses, the political dispositions that were susceptible of modification. The Jews became citizens, and the barriers which divided them from the rest of the nation were gradually effaced.

It must not be forgotten, that in all Napoleon undertook, to operate a general fusion, he never deviated from the principles of the Revolution. He had recalled the emigrants without infringing on the inviolability of the sale of national property. He had re-established the Catholic religion, at the same time that he proclaimed the fullest liberty of conscience, and secured an equal remuneration to the ministers of each sect. He caused himself to be crowned by the Sovereign Pontiff, without subscribing to any of the concessions demanded by the Pope, in the immunities of the Gallican church. He espoused the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, without abandoning the claims of France to one of her conquests. He re-established titles of nobility, but without attaching to them either privileges or prerogatives, and those titles were placed within the reach of every service and every profession, without the slightest distinction of birth. Every idea of caste was extinct under the Empire; no one dreamed of boasting of his parchments, and a man was asked what he had done, not from whom he had received his birth.

The most important qualification of a people

aspiring to a free government, is a respect for the law. Now the strength of a law is derived from the interest which every citizen has to respect or infringe it. To inspire the people with a respect for the law, it was necessary that the law should be administered in the interest of all, and should consecrate the principle of equality in its fullest extension. The impression of power had to be re-created, and the principles of the Revolution to be grafted upon public morals, for public morals constitute the sanctuary of public institutions. In the infancy of a new society, the legislator makes or corrects public morals ; these, at a subsequent stage, make the laws, or preserve them intact from age to age. When institutions are in harmony, not only with the interests, but likewise with the sentiments and habits of all, that public or general spirit is formed, which constitutes the strength of a country, by serving as a rampart against the encroachments of power and the attacks of party. "There is in every nation," says Montesquieu, "a general spirit upon which authority is based. Authority, when it offends this spirit, offends itself, and necessarily impedes its own action."

This general spirit, so difficult to create after a revolution, was formed under the Empire, by the establishment of those codes which determined the rights of all,—by the strict integrity enforced in the administration,—by the promptness with which every injustice was repressed,—by the zeal with

which the Emperor incessantly endeavoured to satisfy the moral and material wants of the nation. His government did not commit the error common to so many others, of separating the interests of the mind from those of the body, by consigning the former to the region of chimera, and admitting the latter only into the region of reality. Napoleon, on the contrary, by exciting every elevated passion, by showing that merit and virtue conducted to wealth and honour, made it manifest to the world, that the noble sentiments of the human heart are but the banner of material interests properly understood ; even as Christian morality is sublime, because, as a code of social law, it is the surest guide we can follow—the best monitor for our private interests.

To constitute the nation, it was not sufficient for the Emperor to repair the injustice of former governments, or to lean for support on all classes without distinction ; it was also necessary for him to organize.

A system of government comprehends *an administrative organization*, and *a political organization*. In a democratic state, as France was, the administrative organization is of more moment than in any other ; for, to a certain extent, it overrules the political organization. In an aristocratic country, political action being the inheritance of a class, the delegates of power reign by their personal, rather than by an administrative, influence, the power of government being divided among all the patrician

families*. But in a government, the basis of which is democratic, the chief alone exercises the power of government. The moral force is derived from him alone, and he becomes the object of every sentiment, whether of hatred or of love. In such a state of society, centralization must be carried farther than in any other; for the representatives of power have no moral influence but that which they derive from power, and to preserve it, it is necessary that they dispose of a great authority without ceasing to be in absolute dependance on their chief, in order that the most active vigilance may be exercised over them.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION.

The administrative organization under the Empire, like most of the institutions of that period, had a momentary task to fulfil, and a distant object to attain. Centralization was the only means for organizing France, for establishing a stable order of things, and for forming a compact whole, capable at the same time of resisting Europe, and, at a future period, of affording a support to liberty. The excessive centralization under the Empire, must not be considered as a system permanently determined on, but rather as a means to an end. In every

* England furnishes an instance. The lord-lieutenant of an English county has not half the power of the prefect of a French department, but double the moral force. Their influence is derived from their position in society, rather than from their office. The *lord* governs infinitely more than the *lieutenant*.

institution, that which most deserves to be sought and studied, is the predominant idea, the general tendency.

A good administration is composed of a regular system of taxation; of a prompt and impartial manner of levying it; of a system of finance calculated to secure public credit; of a magistracy who, personally respected, may command respect for the law; lastly, of a system of administrative machinery, through which life may circulate from the centre to the extremities, and from the extremities to the centre. The distinguishing characteristic, however, of a good administration, is to invite the assistance of every description of merit, of all practical information, that all recognised ameliorations may be immediately adopted. A truly good administration is one which holds every abuse in check, which improves the condition of the poor, which excites every description of industry to action, which holds an equal balance between the rich and the poor, between those who labour and those who provide employment for labour, between the governing classes and the governed.

The Convention had divided the French territory into departments; the Emperor facilitated the exercise of power by the creation of prefects, sub-prefects, maires, and adjoints. France was farther divided into 398 communal arrondissements. Each department had a council-general and a council of prefecture; the former presided over the distribution

of public charges, and watched the special agent of power; the latter decided on the demands made by individuals on the administration.

The Emperor, when at St. Helena, congratulated himself on having instituted a minister of the treasury, and a minister secretary of state. The minister of the treasury concentrated all the resources, and controlled all the expenses, of the Empire. From the minister secretary of state emanated every act; he was the minister of ministers, giving life to each intermediate action, the great notary of the Empire, signing and legalizing every document.

The Emperor introduced order and economy into every branch of the service, as well as into the administration of benevolent institutions. He re-established the direction-general of the forests, of the registration, and of the customs, departments previously subject to collective administrations. The administration of the forests was thus rendered more economical and simple; that of registration less onerous, by a better distribution of the dues to be levied.

The military administration, as we learn from the *Mémorial de Ste. Hélène*, was, in Napoleon's own opinion, too expensive. "The direction of all contracts," he said, "whether for forage, stores, or medicines, had been centralized at Paris, and the correspondence subdivided into as many persons as there were regiments. It would have been better

to centralize the correspondence, and subdivide the resources by removing them to the several localities."

The Judicial Order, under the Directory, was composed of 417 correctional tribunals, and ninety-eight civil tribunals. In 1800, there was established in every communal arrondissement, a tribune of first instance, cognizant, at the same time, of matters of correctional police. By this change, justice was made of easier access to all citizens. Over these tribunals of first instance were placed twenty-nine tribunals of appeal: each department contained a criminal tribunal. The Court of Cassation held its sittings in Paris. In 1810, the courts of appeal and the criminal courts were united, and received the designation of imperial courts. They became cognizant of civil and criminal affairs. The courts of criminal justice were suppressed. The courts of assize and the special courts were emanations of the imperial courts. The union of these two branches of justice was attended by two advantages: in the first place, a prisoner was subjected to a less rigorous jurisdiction, one no longer accustomed to seek after crime in every affair brought before it; secondly, the civil magistracy being generally respected, and the criminal magistracy, by the very nature of its commission, unpopular, the fusion of these two judicial bodies, made the criminal magistrate participate in the respect by which the civil magistracy were surrounded.

One certain proof of the excellence of the judicial institutions under the Empire, will be found in the constant and progressive diminution of crime; the number of state prisoners, which on the 18th Brumaire amounted to 9000, had been brought down to 150 in 1814.

The finances of a great state, in the opinion of the Emperor, ought to furnish the means for meeting extraordinary circumstances, and even the vicissitudes of the most obstinate wars, without being obliged to have recourse to fresh taxes, the establishment of which is always attended with difficulty. His system was to institute a great number of taxes, which, in ordinary times, might be little felt by the people, but the amount of which might be raised or lowered, according to the pressure of the moment, by means of what was called the additional centimes.

It is known to what abuses the levying of the taxes was subject before the 18th of Brumaire, at which period there were not more than 150,000 francs in the treasury. The government dividends and the pensions of the state were paid in paper only, which was at a heavy discount in the money market. The payments into the treasury were made in more than forty different currencies. To make up a budget was impossible.

At the commencement of the Consulate, our formidable adversary, Pitt, anticipated the approaching ruin of France, from her want of money and credit. He was not aware of all the resources which

an able and powerful government had at its command. In one year, from the 18th Brumaire, Napoleon had so regulated the collection of the revenue, that, after abolishing the coercive means, he had met every expense, reduced the taxes, re-established an effective currency, and held securities to the amount of 300 millions of francs.

“Finances based upon a good agriculture,” said the First Consul, in his Letter to the King of England, “are never destroyed.” Experience has shown that he was right.

The order and regularity which he introduced into the administration and into his budgets, led to the revival of credit. He favoured the creation of the Bank of France; but at the same time that he made it independent of the government, he reserved to himself a control over its actions. He did not require it to lend him money, but to furnish facilities, under suitable circumstances, for the cheap realization of the public revenue. In moments of difficulty he was always ready to come to its assistance. On one occasion, in 1805, he said, “Notwithstanding the bad spirit and the suspicion by which several governments are animated, I will stop the pay of my troops, if it be necessary, to support the Bank of France.” It was his intention to have established branch banks in all the chief cities of France.

He created a ministry of the treasury, independent of the minister of finance. He would have no

connection between the treasury and the bank, believing that a simple movement of the funds may reveal the secret of the state. One of the most important innovations at the treasury, was the introduction of accounts by double entry.

France may congratulate herself that the system of loans, by which England is now borne down, was not acted upon under the Empire. Napoleon had established the very contrary principle, limiting, by an express law, the amount of the public debt to eighty millions of *rentes*.

Among the ameliorations due to the Empire, may be counted the law which obliged receivers-general, notaries, and exchange agents, to furnish security. For a new government, it was essential that the price of the public funds should be maintained progressively; if this was necessary, it followed, that a watch and control must be kept over men who, speculating on the variations in the value of those funds, might be interested in imparting to them a retrograde movement. The enlightened investigations of the Emperor even went so far as to rectify the rates of life annuities, which were at variance with a fair calculation of probabilities.

He established the sinking-fund, or *caisse d'amortissement*. On that occasion he expressed himself thus: "It is said that a sinking-fund ought to be only a machine to contract loans with. That may be true, but THE TIME IS NOT YET COME FOR FRANCE TO ESTABLISH HER FINANCES UPON LOANS."

He instituted a *caisse de service*, whose principal duty consisted in operating, in the departments, a prompt local application of the receipts to the expenses. This *caisse* opened accounts current with the receivers-general.

It was his intention to have created *caisses d'activité*, of which the accumulating funds were to have been consecrated to works of public amelioration. There would have been the *caisse d'activité* of the Empire for works of a general character, the *caisse* of the departments for local works, and the *caisse* of the communes for communal works.

In 1806, the tolls on roads (*droits de passe et de taxe*) were suppressed, and a law was passed, authorizing the establishment of municipal rates in cities of which the civil hospitals were not already in possession of sufficient revenues.

The Council of Liquidation, installed in 1802, ceased its labours on the 30th of June, 1810. During the interval, the debts of the state had been paid, and this protracted wound of the Revolution, as M. Thibaudeau has expressed it, was at length healed*.

The Emperor estimated, that during war France required a budget of 800 millions, during peace one of 600 millions. Under the Empire, no budget exceeded this mark till after the reverses of Moscow. The Imperial budget, therefore, notwithstanding the state of war, was less, by 400 millions

* THIBAUDEAU, tome viii., p. 28.

than that which weighs upon France after twenty-four years of peace*. The Emperor's own expenses amounted to less than the moiety of his civil list. The remainder went to form a reserve fund, for the execution of public works and the encouragement of manufactures. In 1814, the whole reserve fund went to support the national war.

A good system of accounts is the indispensable companion of a good system of finance. The constitution of the year VIII. had retained a commission of responsibility, charged with the investigation of accounts. This commission had been found unequal to the immense accumulation of its labours. From 1792 till 1807, out of 11,477 accounts only 8,793 had been checked†. The Emperor, desirous that regularity should be everywhere introduced, established the court of accounts, which quickly reduced this important branch of the public service to order.

The Emperor has been reproached with having favoured landed property in his system of taxation. He was of opinion, that, in time of peace, direct taxation ought to be lightly imposed, as being the source of revenue which, in time of war, must bear the chief burden. He thought it right, to take advantage of the activity which peace imparts to general consumption, to derive from indirect taxa-

* See the budgets of the Empire, among the documents in the Appendix.

† THIBAUDEAU, tome vi., p. 130.

tion supplies which it cannot furnish in time of war. A political motive, moreover, may have presided over this temporary preference: for it must be remembered, that political changes had, since 1789, created about ten millions of land-owners, that those land-owners, whose interest attached them to the Revolution, were the class of all others most important to the government, because it was from this mass of new proprietors that public opinion might be said to emanate. The Emperor said one day to the Council of State: "Our system of imposts is bad. Neither property nor civil liberty is consistent with it; for civil liberty depends on the security of property, of which there can be none in a country where every year the taxpayer is liable to a change in the amount of his impost. A man with 3,000 francs a year cannot know how much he will have to live on, next year. His whole income may be swallowed up by his taxes. A trumpery matter of fifty or a hundred francs will be formally pleaded before a grave tribunal, and a mere clerk, by the dash of his pen, may raise your taxes by thousands. This does away with all rights of property. If I buy an estate, I don't know what I'm about. In Lombardy, in Piedmont, a system of registration exists, and changes are made only under extraordinary circumstances, and after a solemn decision. If the contribution is augmented, every man bears his own share *au marc la livre*, and may make the calculation in his own closet.

Such a man knows what he has ; there property does exist. Why have we no public spirit in France ? It is because every land-owner is obliged to pay court to the administration, with whom, if he has a difference, he may be ruined. The decision of appeals is arbitrary. This is the reason that in no other country are men so servilely attached to the government as in France, where property is in a state of dependence. In Lombardy, on the contrary, a man lives on his own property, without caring who administers the government. Nothing has ever been done in France for landed property. The man who obtains a good law of registration will merit a statue." In 1810, the registration (*cadastral parcellaire*) was complete in 3200 communes ; about 600,000 land-owners enjoying a proportional equality in those communes.

The property of mines had always been imperfectly regulated. In 1810, laws were passed for its regulation, and the Emperor created a corps of mine engineers.

To improve the condition of the poor was one of the earliest cares of the Emperor. In a letter to the Minister of the Interior, dated the 2nd November, 1807, he says that he attached a great idea of glory to the destruction of mendicity. He caused asylums for mendicants to be established ; in 1809, forty-two were already in existence. He excited all public writers to suggest efficacious means for the relief of the poor. He instituted the Maternal

Society, which was to have had a council of administration in every large city of the empire. The institution of Sisters of Charity was revived, with all its ancient advantages, but without the abuses which had impaired its utility. Six houses were erected in 1810, for the reception of 600 orphan daughters of members of the Legion of Honour. The Hotel of the Invalides was reorganised in 1803, and branch establishments were formed on several points. Napoleon created camps for veterans, where every man who was admitted had a cottage and a piece of land equal in value to his retiring pension.

In 1807, the estates of the hospitals, alienated by a decree of the Convention, were restored.

Prisoners condemned by criminal tribunals, and by the correctional police, were confounded during their confinement with persons simply under accusation. The government adopted the system of central prisons for those condemned to at least one year's imprisonment.

It was the Emperor's wish that everything connected with the exercise of religion should be gratuitous, and that the poor should be interred at once gratuitously and decently. "It was not right," he said, "to tax the dead; it was not right to deprive the poor of what consoles their poverty." He commanded the churches to be opened gratuitously to the public; and that if a church had been hung with black for the funeral service of a rich man, the hangings should not be taken down till the ser-

vice for the poor man had likewise been performed. It was at one time his intention to reduce the admission on Sundays to the pit of the Théâtre Français, to twenty sous, that the humbler classes also might enjoy the master-pieces of our literature. In his speech to the Legislative Body, in 1807, he said that throughout the empire, even in the smallest hamlet, the comfort of the citizens and the value of land would soon be augmented, by means of the general system of amelioration which he had conceived.

The war prevented him from realising so great a project, and arrested the execution of a host of other philanthropic ameliorations; among which may be cited his wish to do away with the abuse existing at the dépôt of the Prefecture of Police in Paris, where the most respectable persons are liable to spend the night in the company of thieves and ruffians.

Communes.—The administration of France was a machine to be organized. It was necessary, as has already been said, that everything should be centralized, in order to ameliorate, to vivify, and to establish; eventually, that portion of power which the centre had momentarily absorbed, was to have been restored to the extremities.

The Emperor felt the full importance of a good communal administration. Especial care, he said, must be taken, not to destroy the municipal spirit. He often supported the maires against the prefects, and was desirous that the latter should be present

at the installation of the former. It was his opinion, that the *octrois*, or local taxes, should be administered by the *maires* in the interest of the communes, and that the *prefects* should merely watch over the proper application of the money.

To encourage in the rural communes exchanges calculated to do away with the disconnection of property, and to make it more compact, the government exempted from the registration tax, the first commune, of which the inhabitants executed this operation by general consent.

The communal spirit is an essentially conservative spirit; whatever it has once acquired, whether an abuse or an advantage, it clings to with indiscriminate tenacity. To regenerate the communes, it was necessary to deprive them awhile of their rights, to allow time to complete their education; that completed, they might without any danger to the general safety, have been restored to a greater degree of independence. The prosperity of the communes was an object of the utmost solicitude to the Emperor. The plan which he had conceived for the amelioration of their condition, will be found fully developed in a letter written by him to the Minister of the Interior, and printed in the Appendix to the present work.

“To labour for the prosperity of the 36,000 communities,” he said, “is to labour for the happiness of the 30 millions of inhabitants, but simplifying the question and diminishing the difficulty,

by the ratio of 36,000 to 30 millions." With this view, the Emperor divided the communes into three classes: communes in debt, communes clear from debt, and communes having resources at their command. According to the means pointed out to the Minister of the Interior, five years would have been sufficient to do away with the first class, that of communes in debt; two classes only would then have remained, and at the end of ten years, France would have had no communes without resources at their command.

"The alienation of the communal property, with a view to the progress of agriculture," said the Emperor, "was the most important question of political economy that could have been agitated." It was disposed of by the imperious exigencies of the war. In 1813, the lands and houses belonging to the communes were sold. Their woods, commons, turf-moors, and other lands from which no rents were drawn, as well as the buildings applied to the public service, or the grounds which ministered to the salubrity or comfort of the place, were left untouched. The money produced by the sale was paid over to the sinking-fund, and the communes received, in inscriptions at five per cent, an annual revenue equal to that of their property transferred.

From what has already been said, it may clearly be seen, that all the intentions of the Emperor tended to ameliorate the material welfare of the country. When the disasters of war force him

to have recourse to expedients, the resources which he creates for himself, are not, we see, disastrous to the country, and bear little resemblance to the means employed by other countries under analogous circumstances. Neither paper money, nor forced loans, nor crushing loans, nor a deterioration of the currency, as had been the case even under Frederick the Great.

The Emperor had made a precise distinction between the resources of a state. "Formerly," he said, "only one description of property was known, that of land. A new one has arisen, that of industry, now struggling with the former. It is a trial of strength between the fields and the desks, between the battlements and the looms. A third is that arising from the enormous impositions levied on the people, and which, distributed by the neutral and impartial hands of government, may prevent the monopoly of the other two, may serve as a mediator between them, and restrain them from coming to a collision." He made the following classification :

Agriculture, the soul, the basis of the empire;

Industry, the comfort, the happiness of the population;

Foreign commerce, the superabundance, the good employment of the other two.

Foreign commerce, infinitely below the other two in its results, was always placed below them in the mind of Napoleon. "This last is made for the

other two," he said, "not they for it. The interests of these three essential bases point to different, often to opposite directions. I have always served them according to their natural rank."

Agriculture, never ceased to make a great progress under the Empire*. "It is by comparisons and examples," said Napoleon, "that agriculture, like every other art, attains perfection." He commanded the prefects to let him know the names of the agriculturists who distinguished themselves, whether by a more intelligent system of farming, or by a greater care in the breeding and improving of cattle. In those departments where farming was at a low ebb, the principal landowners were invited to send their children to study the practice adopted in those parts of the country where agriculture was in a more flourishing condition. Commendations and distinctions were bestowed upon those who availed themselves the most of these dispositions.

The Rural Code, projected in 1802, was submitted in 1808, in as many districts as there were courts of appeal, to commissions of consultation, composed of judges, public officers, and the most distinguished agriculturists. The work could not be brought to a close under the Empire.

In 1807, a professorship of rural economy was attached to the veterinary school of Alfort.

* See in the Appendix, the Report on the State of the Empire presented in 1813, by the Minister of the Interior.

*Industry** was not merely encouraged, it may, in a great measure be said to have been created during the Empire. In a short time it attained an extraordinary degree of prosperity.

When the Emperor said that industry was a new species of property, he expressed in a single word its importance and nature. The spirit of property is in its nature aggressive and exclusive. The property of the soil had had its vassals and serfs. The Revolution enfranchised the land; but the new property of industry, increasing daily, tended to pass through the same stages, and to retain likewise its vassals and serfs.

Napoleon foresaw this tendency inherent in every system whose progress bears the character of a conquest; and while he protected the masters of industrial establishments, he did not forget to protect also the rights of their workmen. He established at Lyons, and subsequently in other manufacturing towns, a council of discreet men, to act as justices of the peace, charged with the adjustment of differences that might arise between the employers and the employed. Regulations were established for the police of factories, for private marks, and to fix the respective obligations of masters and workmen. Consultative chambers for manufactures, arts and trades, were instituted. At the Ministry of the Interior, a council-general for

* This word is used here to represent the manufacturing interest.

the department of manufactures was installed. The Emperor frequently advanced money from his civil list, for the relief of manufacturers, who, from want of a demand, were on the point of suspending their works. His intention was to have formed a distinct fund for the occasional relief of industry. After the battle of Eylau he wrote to the Minister of the Interior, "My object is not to prevent this or that merchant from failing, for to that end the finances of the state would be insufficient, but to prevent any particular branch of manufactures from being suspended. I wish to supply the absence of a sale by a loan. I will form a stable and permanent establishment, and endow it with forty or fifty millions, so that the want of a demand may be less cruel to the manufacturer."

The Emperor promoted industry, by making science contribute to its amelioration. "If time had been left me," he said, "there should no longer have been trades in France, they should all have been arts." In fact, during his reign, chemistry and mechanism were made to contribute to the improvement of every branch of industry. How many machines were not created, how many inventions brought to life during the Imperial régime.

If the spirit of association made no greater progress in France, it was not for want of encouragement from the chief of the state, for, occupied as he was by war, he directed the Minister of the Interior to endeavour to dispose to private com-

panies, of the canals that had been completed, and he enjoined him, in 1807, to have the iron Bridge of Jena, like the Bridge of Arts, executed by a private company.

To the re-establishment of corporations of trades, the Emperor was always opposed. He established schools of arts and trades, at Chalons. Very high prizes were instituted for the encouragement of inventions. A sum of a million of francs was promised to the inventor of the best machine for spinning flax; a premium of 40,000 francs, and a second of 20,000, to the author of the most suitable machine for the working, carding, combing, and spinning of wool.

He created manufactories for spinning, weaving, and printing cotton. Previously to the Empire, the art of spinning cotton was unknown in France, and all tissues were imported from abroad. Cotton was cultivated to advantage in the south of France, in Corsica, and in Italy. In 1810, the crop was valued at 100,000 kilogrammes. The merinos of France were improved, and disseminated throughout the empire. Napoleon ordered granite to be sought for, and to him it is, we are indebted for the quarries which are still worked*. European was made to supply the place of colonial produce; chicorée became a substitute for coffee, and pastel for indigo; the beet-root took the place of the sugar-cane, and madder that of cochineal. Most

* BIGNON.

of these articles have since become a source of wealth to France. The manufacture of beet-root sugar amounts at present to 20,000,000 of kilogrammes a year, and chicorée has remained the coffee of the poor*.

Foreign maritime commerce could not, on account of the war, receive any great extension, but internal commerce was developed to an immense extent; for the internal commerce of France, at that time, from Hamburg to Rome, may be said to have been the commerce of Europe.

A council-general of trade, was established at the Ministry of the Interior, similar to that of industry.

In all his treaties, the Emperor sought to secure advantages for French commerce. In 1808, he opened a market in Spain, for the produce of national industry, by causing the prohibition of the silks of Lyons, Tours, and Turin, to be abolished. He secured the same advantages to the hardwares of France, to the cloths of Carcassonne, to the linens of Bretagne. It was his wish that French merchants should establish houses at St. Petersburg, for the sale of French merchandize, and for the conveyance of Russian merchandise to France; and it is to a treaty concluded by the Emperor, with

* Not France alone, but the European continent generally, has profited by these new articles of produce. The Grand Duchy of Baden now exports chicorée to the amount of more than a million of francs annually.

Russia, that France is even now indebted for her supply of timber requisite for ship-building.

The Commercial Code was terminated and adopted in 1807.

The public works executed by the Emperor's orders on so vast a scale, were not only one of the chief causes of internal prosperity, but even favoured a great social progress. These works, by multiplying the channels of communication, were productive of three great advantages: first, by employing a multitude of hands, they relieved the poorer classes; secondly, they favoured agriculture, industry, and commerce, the creation of new roads and canals, augmenting the value of lands, and facilitating the conveyance of merchandise; thirdly, they corrected the spirit of locality, by effacing the barriers which separate not only province from province, but country from country, by facilitating the intercourse between man and man, and thus drawing closer the bonds by which it is the common interest to be united. Towards the close of this work will be found a statement of the principal public works executed under the Empire. Napoleon's system was to execute a multitude of works at the cost of the state, and when they were completed to sell them, and apply the produce of their sale to new undertakings. Notwithstanding all his wars, the Emperor was able, in twelve years, to expend 1,005,000,000 of francs, upon public works; and the man who had such treasures at his disposal,

and who distributed 700,000,000 in dotations, was never the owner of any private property whatever!

Public instruction, under an enlightened régime, like that of the Empire, could not but participate in the impulse given to every branch of the administration. "Those only," said the Emperor, "who wish to deceive the people, and govern to their own advantage, can wish to retain them in a state of ignorance; the more they are enlightened, the more men will there be, convinced of the necessity of laws, and of the policy of defending them; and the more will society be settled, happy, and prosperous. If knowledge should ever happen to become hurtful to the multitude, it must be under a government hostile to the interests of the people, one that drives the people into a forced position, or reduces the lower classes to the extreme of misery. In such a state of society, a spirit of resistance will be engendered, and a tendency to criminality."

The National Convention had already done much, by overturning the Gothic edifice of instruction. In troublous times, however, it is difficult to build up anew, and the establishments of education that had been projected, remained incomplete. Elementary schools existed only in towns, the central schools were deserted. Napoleon, in 1802, divided the institutions of education into three classes: first, municipal, or elementary schools, of which 23,000 were to be created; secondly, secon-

dary schools, or communal colleges ; thirdly, lyceums, or special schools, maintained at the expense of the treasury. The Institute was to form the summit of the entire edifice. The greatest activity was imparted to the establishment of schools, and the cities and departments were emulous in their offers to support the expense.

In the first instance, forty-five lyceums were established. There was to have been at least one in the district of every court of appeal. Three commissions of learned men travelled through the country, to furnish each lyceum with the materials of instruction. There were 6,400 pupils boarded at the expense of the state.

Works for instruction, in the mathematics, by La Place, Monge, and Lacroix ; in natural history by Duménil, in mineralogy by Brognard, in chemistry by Adet, in astronomy by Biot, and in natural philosophy by Haüy, were published by the direction of government.

The denomination of *Prytanée Française*, under which, till then, several colleges had been comprised, was, in 1803, confined to the college of St. Cyr, a gratuitous house of education for the sons of soldiers killed in battle. The pupils of this school, after passing their examination, were transferred to the special school of Fontainebleau, also created about this time.

A special school of marine, as well as floating-schools, were established at Toulon and Brest.

Two practical schools for mining were founded; one at Geislautern, in the department of the Saar, the other at Pesey, in the department of Mont Blanc.

In 1806, the Emperor felt the necessity of regulating instruction by a general system. This system has been blamed as restrictive of liberty, but the time for liberty, as has already been observed, had not yet arrived; and the duty of a government, placed at the head of a nation that has just enfranchised itself from all its ancient ideas, is not only to direct the present, but to educate the rising generation in the principles which have made the revolution triumph. "There will be no fixed political estate," said the Emperor, "unless there be a body of men teaching upon fixed principles; the creation of such a body, on the other hand, will consolidate civil order."

Notwithstanding its restrictions, the system of education was a noble monument, and harmonized with the Imperial organization, which addressed itself to every capacity, marked out the path with precision, and removed from it every obstacle. To all who would devote themselves to the art of instruction, to the art of healing, or to the science of jurisprudence, a career was opened; provided sufficient guarantees were given to society, that they were capable of teaching morality and not vice; that they knew how to distinguish between medicinal plants and poisonous herbs; or that,

having been reared to the law, they had studied its spirit, and were able to defend it.

The first measures of Napoleon had greatly advanced public instruction. Numerous schools had arisen, but they were isolated and independent of each other. The position of those who devoted themselves to instruction was not secure, nor were they subjected to one common code. The Emperor conceived the plan of connecting all these establishments with one another, by uniting all the professors into one body, and by raising the character of their profession to a level with the most respected public offices.

Public instruction throughout the empire was confided exclusively to the University. It was composed of as many academies as there were courts of appeal. The schools belonging to an academy were ranged in the following order: 1stly, the faculties for the more profound sciences, and the conferring of degrees; 2ndly, the lyceums; 3rdly, the colleges, secondary communal schools; 4thly, institutions, or schools kept by private individuals; 5thly, boarding-schools kept by private masters, and consecrated to studies less severe than those of the institutions; 6thly, primary schools. The small seminaries were under the superintendence of the University.

There were five orders of faculties: theology, law, medicine, mathematics, and physics. For every metropolitan church there was a faculty of

theology, besides one at Strasburg and one at Geneva for the Reformed religion. The schools of law formed twelve faculties; the five schools of medicine, five. A faculty of sciences and one of letters were annexed to each lyceum.

The degrees in each faculty were those of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor, each of which was conferred after a separate examination.

The administrative hierarchy and that of instruction comprised nineteen degrees. No one could be promoted to a higher place, without having passed through the inferior ones, nor without having obtained in the different faculties degrees corresponding with the nature and importance of their functions. The functionaries were divided into titularies, officers of the University, and officers of academies. They were subjected to a strict discipline. After an uninterrupted service of thirty years, they might be declared *émérites*, which entitled them to a retiring pension.

The University was presided over by the Grand Master, an officer appointed by the Emperor, and removable at pleasure.

The council of the University was composed of thirty members. At the chief town of each academy, there was an academic council of ten members.

There were inspectors-general of the University, whose duty it was to inspect the establishments of education, at the order of the grand master.

At each academy, and within the colleges and lyceums, there was to be at least one normal school, the object of which was to rear up suitable masters for the primary schools.

The University was to aim unceasingly at the improvement of every branch of education, to favour the composition of classical works, and to take care that the sciences were always taught in a manner consistent with the progress of information, and that a spirit of routine should never interfere with their advancement.

The lyceums, the number of which, in 1811, was increased to a hundred, were to be a nursery for professors, rectors, and superior teachers. It was the Emperor's wish that powerful motives of emulation should be held out, in order that the young men who devoted themselves to the office of instruction, might look forward to rise step by step to the highest offices of the state. In every lyceum there were twenty pupils maintained at the expense of government; eighty paid only one half of the regular charge, and fifty only one quarter; this was done, that the talents of the poor might likewise have an opportunity of displaying themselves.

Napoleon, by the impulse given to education, substituted, to some extent, the more useful study of mathematics and physical sciences, for that of the dead languages, till then taught almost exclusively; in a similar spirit he opposed himself to the

pre-eminence which it was sought to give to medicine over surgery.

The Polytechnic school, founded under the Directory, was greatly developed, and furnished distinguished officers to the army, and to every branch of practical science.

The Normal school, projected under the Convention, received its salutary destination under the Empire.

Under the name of *maisons impériales*, Napoleon created two distinct establishments: the one for the education of the daughters of members of the Legion of Honour, the other for the education of orphan girls; in the former, the pupils received a brilliant education, in the latter, they were taught such female occupations as were best calculated to enable them to maintain themselves.

Provision was made for those children whose education was confided to public charity. They were divided into three classes: foundlings, deserted children, and poor orphans. In each arrondissement a hospital was destined for their reception.

At Rouen was created a school of anatomic preparations. The School of Arts and Trades founded in 1803 at Compiègne, and subsequently transferred to Chalons-sur-Marne, was intended to disseminate widely the benefits of an industrial education. A second was created, in 1806, at Baupréau, and a third in the abbey of St. Maximilian near Treves.

The French school for the Fine Arts at Rome was revived, and transferred to the Villa Medici. Fifteen pupils were sent thither.

The Emperor did not confine himself to the creation of schools; he stimulated every description of merit by the institution of prizes and rewards, which, to extend the sphere of emulation, were thrown open to the competition of all the savans of Europe. A prize of 60,000 francs was instituted, to obtain improvements in galvanism, and a medal of 3,000 francs was to be adjudged annually by the Institute, for the best experiment. The annual prize of the Institute was gained, in 1808, by the celebrated English chemist, Sir Humphry Davy.

Decennial prizes were founded, as encouragements to all the sciences and all the arts; there were nine of 10,000 francs, and thirteen of 5,000.

Among the numerous encouragements granted to science, must be mentioned the premium of 12,000 francs, promised to the author of the best treatise on the malady of the croup.

The Emperor secured the copyright of posthumous works to the heirs of deceased authors.

He had conceived the idea of erecting a sort of literary university, composed of thirty professorships, so well classified that they might form a kind of office for facilitating literary, geographical, historical, and political inquiries; where, for instance, any one wishing to make himself acquainted with an epoch, might obtain information as to

what works he ought to read, what memoirs or chronicles he ought to consult ; where a man about to visit any particular country might receive every requisite information on the subject of his intended journey.

“ The only reasonable encouragement for literature,” said the Emperor, “ will be found in the places of the Institute, because these give to poets a character in the state.” He wished the second class of the Institute to form a sort of literary tribunal, charged with an argumentative and impartial criticism of publications of merit.

He spared nothing that could do honour to the memory of deceased savans. From Osterode, still covered by the dust of battle, he ordered the statue of D’Alembert to be placed in the hall of the Institute. He caused a mausoleum to be elevated to Voltaire, and another to Rousseau.

The busts of Tronchet and Portalis, by whom the first draft of the Code Napoleon was drawn up, were placed in the hall of the Council of State.

At Cambray, a monument was erected to the ashes of Fénélon.

The cares of war did not lead the Imperial government to neglect whatever might promote science. Thus, in 1806, he commanded the publication, at his own expense, of an account of the voyages and discoveries, made between 1800 and 1804, by Perron, Lesueur, and Captain Baudin.

Biot and Arago were sent to Spain to continue

the measurement of the arc of the meridian, as far as the Balearic Islands.

The National Institute was charged to draw up a report of the progress of letters, arts, and sciences, since 1789 ; this was to be presented to the government every five years by a deputation. The same body was also to state its views on the discoveries, the application of which it believed useful to the public service ; on the encouragement and assistance which letters, sciences, and arts might require ; on the improvements that might be introduced into the several branches of public education.

The Emperor, it may be seen, imparted to education the same impulse as to industry, and we may say, with Thibaudeau *, that, after the fall of the Empire, the pupils of the lyceums were the men, who in arts, sciences, and literature, perpetuated the glory of France.

Of the Army.—It would be beyond our present subject to examine all the ameliorations which the organization of the army underwent, or to relate the achievements that made it illustrious. The whole universe is acquainted with the exploits of those heroic soldiers, who, from Arcole to Waterloo, seconded the gigantic enterprises of Napoleon, and who were happy to die in his cause, which, they knew, was the cause of France. It would occupy us too long to retrace all that the army did for the

* Tome iii., p. 404.

Emperor, and the Emperor for the army; let us confine ourselves to an examination, under a social point of view, of the military organization.

The conscription, which, unfortunately, owing to the prolongation of the war, weighed so heavily on France, was one of the greatest institutions of the age. Not only did it consecrate the principle of equality, "but," as has been said by General Foy*, "it was destined to be the palladium of our independence, for, by placing the nation in the army, and the army in the nation, it furnished inexhaustible resources." The principle which had presided over the enactment of the law of conscription was to receive a farther developement; the ideas of the Emperor, it may be added, have been put into practice by other governments, and among others by Prussia. It was not sufficient that the army should be recruited from among the entire nation; it was necessary, in case of a reverse, that the whole nation might furnish a reserve to the army. "When a nation repulses an invasion," said the Emperor, "it is never in want of men, but too often of soldiers." The military system of Prussia offers immense advantages. It removes the barrier that separates the soldier from the citizen; it imparts a common motive and aim to all men under arms,—the defence of their native soil; it affords the means of keeping up a large military force, at the least possible expense, it renders a whole nation

* *Guerre de la Péninsule*, tome 1., p. 54.

capable of successfully resisting an invasion. The Prussian army is a great school to which the youth of the country repair to learn the profession of arms ; the *Landwehr*, divided into three *bans*, forms the reserve of the army. In the military organization, accordingly, there are several classifications ; but all proceed from the same source, all have one aim ; there is emulation, but no rivalry, between the organized bodies.

The National Guard, an institution which had fallen into disuse during the latter period of the Republic, was, it is known, re-established by Napoleon in 1806. In 1812, it was divided into three *bans* ; the first, composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age, the six last classes of the conscription, who had not been called into activity ; the second, of all the efficient men between twenty-six and forty ; the third, or *arrière ban*, of men from forty to sixty. This system, it may be seen, resembles that now acted on in Prussia. "At the peace," the Emperor said, "I should have prevailed on all the sovereigns to keep up merely their guards. I should then have proceeded to organize the National Guard in such a manner, that every citizen might have known his own post in case of need ; then," added he, "we should indeed have had a nation soundly modelled, capable of defying mankind for centuries to come*."

* "On aurait eu vraiment une nation maçonnée à chaux et à sable, capable de défier les siècles et les hommes."

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

We have hastily glanced over the administrative organization of the Empire, and pointed out the chief material benefits of the epoch. Let us now turn our attention to its political organization.

In the first place, I must be allowed to say, that I consider as a misfortune the fatal tendency which prevails in France, always to copy and adopt the institutions of foreign nations. Under the Republic we would be Romans. Subsequently, the English constitution appears to have been thought the master-piece of civilization. The titles of *noble peer* and *honourable deputy* were deemed more illustrious than those of tribune and senator, as if in France, the native land of honour, to be *honourable*, were a title and not a quality. Shall we then never be ourselves? England has, indeed, for a long space of time, offered us a noble spectacle of parliamentary liberty; but, what is the element of the English constitution? what is its basis? the aristocracy. Suppress that, and nothing organized remains in England; just as Napoleon said of Rome: "If religion had been taken away, nothing would have been left."

In the United States of America, we likewise behold a great spectacle, but where shall we find the least comparison between that country and France? The United States have not yet become a social world, for the organization of such a world

implies fixedness and order, and an attachment to the soil, which cannot be obtained, so long as the commercial spirit, and the disproportion between population and extent of territory, cause land to be looked on in the light of merchandize. Man has not yet taken root in America, he has not incorporated himself with the land ; his interests are personal, not territorial*. In America, commerce holds the first rank, industry the second, and agriculture the last ; the very reverse is the case in Europe. (V. p. 53.)

France is, in many respects, at the head of civilization ; and yet it would seem to be doubted whether she be in a condition to enact laws purely French, that is to say, laws adapted to our wants, fashioned to our nature, and conformable to our political position. Let us adopt from foreign countries such ameliorations as a long experience has consecrated ; but let the form, instinct, and spirit of our laws be ever French. "Politics," it has been said †, "is the application of history to social morality." The same remark will apply to a constitution. The compact which binds the several members of a society together, must derive its form from the experience of the past, its material part from the present, its spirit from the future. A constitution must be made expressly for the nation to whom it is to be adapted. It

* On this subject, see TOCQUEVILLE.

† By DAUNON.

should be like a coat, which, if well made, will fit only one man.

In a political point of view, it was impossible for the Emperor to give more than a temporary organization to France; but all his institutions carried with them a germ of improvement, which, on the peace, he would have developed.

When the French people proclaimed Napoleon Emperor, France was so weary of disorder and continual change, that every thing concurred to invest the chief of the state with the most absolute authority. The Emperor needed not to wish for it; on the contrary, he had to resist its imposition. Public opinion was eager to strengthen the hands of a power which it believed to be tutelary and beneficent, as it had been eager to weaken that which it had deemed hostile. Napoleon needed not to have had either senate or legislative body, so weary had people grown of the eternal discussions, carried on, as he expressed it, by a mass of men, who, before they had secured the triumph of the colour, quarrelled about its several shades.

Napoleon was free from the fault common to so many statesmen, of wishing to subject a nation to an abstract theory, which then becomes a veritable bed of Procrustes. On the contrary, he carefully studied the character, wants, and present condition of the French, and then only shaped his system, which, even afterwards, he modified according to circumstances. “What would be my

position," he said, "in the face of Europe, if, with a government built up in the midst of ruins, the foundations of which are not yet settled, and the form of which I must alter from one moment to another, according to the circumstances to which the variations of foreign politics give rise, I subjected some of my combinations to absolute and immutable rules, whose efficaciousness depends on their permanence?"

The predominant idea which presided over all the internal institutions of the Emperor, was the desire of establishing civil order*. France is surrounded by powerful neighbours. Since the time of Henry IV. she has been an object of jealousy to Europe. She requires a large standing army to secure her independence. This army is organized; having its colonels, generals, and marshals; but the rest of the nation is not; by the side of this military hierarchy, by the side of dignities on which glory confers so much splendour, there must be civil dignities invested with the same preponderance, else the government is in constant danger of falling into the hands of a fortunate soldier. The United States afford us a striking example of the inconveniences arising from the feebleness of civil

* "I will constitute civil order in France. Till now, there have been only two powers in the world,—the soldier and the priest. The barbarians who invaded the Roman Empire, were unable to form a solid establishment, because they had neither a body of priests, nor civil order."—*The Emperor to the Council of State.*

authority. Although free from the elements of discord that will long continue to ferment in Europe, the weakness of its central civil power gives a menacing character to every independent organization. It is not only the military power which is dreaded, but the power of money also, the banking interest. Hence the division of parties. A governor of the bank may happen to have more power than the President; much more may a successful general eclipse the civil power. In England, as formerly in the Italian republics, the aristocracy comprises the organized civil order; but France, having, fortunately, no privileged order more, a democratic hierarchy could alone secure similar advantages, without outraging the principles of equality.

Having premised thus much, let us now examine the constitutions of the Empire.

The principles on which the Imperial laws reposed were:—

Civil equality, conformably to the democratic principle.

The hierarchy, conformably with the principles of order and stability.

Napoleon is the supreme chief of the state, the elect of the people, the representative of the nation. In his public acts, the Emperor always made it a matter of boast, that he owed every thing to the French people. When, at the foot of the Pyrenees, surrounded by the homage of kings, he disposed

of thrones and empires, he claimed with energy the title of first representative of the people, a title which there seemed to be a disposition to give exclusively to the legislative body*.

The imperial power alone is transmitted by inheritance. There is no other hereditary office in France ; all are to be obtained either by election or merit.

There are two chambers ; the Senate and the Legislative Body.

The Senate, a name more popular than that of Chamber of Peers, is composed of members recommended by the electoral colleges ; one-third only is left to the Emperor's nomination. It is presided over by a member named by the chief of the state. Its duty is to watch over the maintenance of the constitution, it is the guarantee of individual liberty and of the liberty of the press†. As the senate

* The Emperor caused to be inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 19th of December, 1808 : "In the order of our constitutional hierarchy, all power proceeding from the nation, its first representative is the Emperor, the second the Senate, the third the Council of State, the fourth the Legislative Body."

† Bignon, in his *Histoire de l'Empire*, expresses himself thus :—"The system established was not vicious in itself, nor were the liberties of the nation left entirely without guarantees. If these guarantees become illusory, if the senatorial commissions of individual liberty and of the freedom of the press are doomed to remain inefficient and inactive, it is because France is passing through an order of events, in which questions of domestic interest and private right, must be subordinate to the exigencies of political strength and foreign power."

was the first power in the state after the sovereign, the Emperor had sought to invest it with all the importance which circumstances permitted; for if the influence which the constituted bodies exercise does not follow the order of their political hierarchy, that alone is a proof that the constitution is not in harmony with the public spirit. The machine then is one of which the wheels do not move in their respective order.

To invest the senate, therefore, with influence, the Emperor's idea was not to make it merely a court of justice, nor a place of refuge for such ministers as public opinion had condemned; but, on the contrary, to compose it of all that was most distinguished, and to make it the guardian and guarantee of all the liberties of the nation*.

* The Emperor's opinion was, that an hereditary chamber could not be established in France, and would exercise no influence there. In 1815, he said to Benjamin Constant, one of the most zealous partisans of the English constitution:—"Your Chamber of Peers will soon be nothing more than a camp or an antechamber."

The president of the senate convokes the senate, at the order of the Emperor; at the demand of the senatorial commissions of individual liberty and of the freedom of the press, or of a senator, for the denunciation of a decree pronounced by the legislative body, or of an officer of the senate, for the internal affairs of the chamber.

Each of the senatorial commissions is composed of seven members. Every person arrested, and not put upon his trial within ten days afterwards, may apply to this commission.

A high imperial court is established, to take cognizance of crimes against the domestic security of the state, of breaches of

To make the senators independent, and to attach them to the provinces, there was established in each arrondissement of a Court of Appeal, a *Sénatorerie*, producing to the titulary senator a life annuity of from 20,000 to 25,000 francs.

The legislative body is named by the electoral colleges of the departments; the members are remunerated for their attendance during the session.

It is essential here to remember the method of election introduced by Napoleon. In the constitution of the year VIII, Sieyes had invented a system of notabilities, that deprived the people of all participation in the elections. Sieyes, a member successively of the Constituent Assembly, of the Convention, and of the Directory, though a friend of liberty, saw himself constrained by circumstances to act thus, if he would save the republic; for before the 18th Fructidor, the elections returned Royalists to the legislative body, and on that day they were driven from it. Next came the turn of the Jacobins, whom the 20th Floreal set aside again. At the ensuing elections they appeared to maintain themselves, and were pre-

official responsibility committed by ministers and councillors of state, of abuses of power committed by imperial agents, whether civil or military, &c.

The tribunal of the high court is held in the senate, under the presidency of the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire; the forms of procedure are protective; the pleadings are carried on, and sentences pronounced, in public.

paring to drive their rivals from the field. Thus nothing was stable; each year beheld the triumph of a party, as Thibaudeau expressed it.

The firm and national bearing of the Consulate had, however, created a strong and compact France, and there was less danger of the vessel of the state striking on one of the two rocks which were always to be feared: a reign of terror, and the ancient order of things.

Napoleon, on being created Consul for life, suppressed the lists of notabilities of Sieyes, and established cantonal assemblies, composed of all the citizens residing within the canton. These assemblies named the members of the electoral colleges for the arrondissement and the department. Those paying the greatest amount of taxes in the department, were eligible to the electoral colleges; but ten members might be added to the colleges of arrondissement, and twenty to the departmental colleges, who needed not to be landowners, but must be selected from among the Legion of Honour, or from among those who had rendered services to the state. The colleges presented two candidates for the vacant place in the legislative body. The departmental college alone proposed candidates for the senate. It was required, that one of the two candidates should be a member of the college presenting him.

When we examine the spirit which dictated these laws, at a period immediately after one of

violent dissents, and while the war still bore a menacing aspect, at a period when the most sincere friends of freedom recognised the necessity of restraining the electoral franchise, it is impossible not to acknowledge that the Emperor's intention must have been to re-establish popular election on the broadest basis. This opinion is confirmed in the following words, pronounced at the time by the government orator:—"The electoral colleges form a mutual tie between the high authorities and the people; they form an intermediate body between the people and the government; they are a classification of citizens, a national organization." In this classification it was necessary to combine the opposite interests of landowners and labourers, property being the fundamental basis of every political association; it was necessary those not proprietors of land should likewise be summoned, that the career might not be closed to talents and genius.

The Council of State was one of the chief wheels in the machine of the empire. Composed of the most distinguished men, it formed the private council of the sovereign. The men who composed it, freed from every restraint, not solicitous to produce an effect, but stimulated by the presence of the sovereign, prepared the laws, unoccupied by any care but for the interests of France. The orators of the Council of State had

to propose for the acceptance of the Chambers, the laws it had prepared.

The Emperor instituted auditors to the Council of State. Their number was extended to three hundred and fifty. They were divided into three classes, and attached to all the administrations. Thus the Council of State comprised a school for the education of intelligent public officers, who, becoming acquainted with all the great political questions, were employed by the government on missions of importance.

This institution provided for a serious deficiency in the state machine. In a country where there are schools for the art of jurisprudence, for the art of healing, for the art of war, for theology, &c., is it not the height of inconsistency that there should be no school for the art of governing? the most difficult of all, since it embraces all the exact, political, and moral sciences*.

“I was preparing for my son the happiest of positions,” said the Emperor at St. Helena. “I was educating a new school for him, in the num-

* In the absence of an effective tribune, which the constitutional government would have given to France, no king ever had so enlightened a council, nor one where every question of civil and administrative order was discussed with more frankness and independence. In the absence of that tribune, which would have furnished the expression of public opinion, no king ever divined the real opinion so well; none ever more correctly estimated character, or knew so well how to turn to account, often its rectitude, sometimes even its errors.—THIBAudeau.

rous class of auditors attached to the Council of State. At a mature age they would have been able to relieve every post in the Empire. Strong in our principles and in the examples of our predecessors, they would all have been from about twelve to fifteen years older than my son, which would have just placed him between two generations, with all the advantages of both: maturity, experience, and wisdom above, and youth, elasticity, and nimbleness below."

The *conseil du contentieux* was instituted as a special tribunal for the trial of public functionaries, for appeals from the councils of prefecture, for questions relating to contracts for supplies, for certain violations of the laws of the state, &c.

The Emperor's wish to raise the character of the political bodies, is manifested by the creation of the dignity of Grand Elector, by the honours with which he surrounded the President of the Legislative Body*, by the circumstantial reports of the state of the empire, which he caused to be laid before that assembly, and by the importance which he gave to the solemnity of opening their sittings. Considering himself the first representative of the nation, he thought himself bound to render an account of his acts before the constituted bodies. The opening of the Legislative Body was never an idle ceremony during his reign. He did

* A guard of honour was assigned to the President of the Legislative Body.

not take his place upon a throne, surrounded by all the paraphernalia of the sixteenth century, to repeat mechanically the words of his ministers ; on the contrary, while standing before the Legislative Body, he frankly and unreservedly gave utterance to his own thoughts. It was not weakness concealing itself under a semblance of strength, but strength rendering a willing homage to the constituted bodies.

Instead of influencing the elections, Napoleon even recommended those about him, not to stand as candidates for the Senate. He reminded them that they might attain that post through another channel, and that it was better to leave that satisfaction to the notabilities of the provinces.

The principles which guided the Emperor in the choice of public functionaries were much more rational than those now acted on. When he had to dispose of the chief office of an administration, he never inquired about the political leaning of the man, but only about his fitness for the place. Instead, therefore, of investigating the political history of his ministers, he endeavoured only to satisfy himself whether they possessed the requisite information. Chaptal, the celebrated chemist, was charged to open new channels for industry ; the learned Denon was appointed Director of the Museum of Arts ; Mollien, Minister of the Treasury. If the finances were so prosperous under the Empire, it was chiefly because Gaudin, Duke of Gaëte,

entered the Ministry of Finance under the Consulate, and did not leave it till 1814.

To facilitate every species of improvement, the Court of Cassation was commissioned to do for the laws, what the Institute did for science. Every year the court was expected to hand in a report, pointing out the ameliorations of which the law was susceptible, and the vices and defects which experience had shown to exist.

In the institutions of the Empire may be traced a continual movement, acting from the circumference towards the centre, and from the centre re-acting on the circumference ; as the life blood in the human body flows towards the heart, and returns to give animation to the extremities. On the one hand, the people are seen participating in the election to every political employment, on the other, the political bodies are presided over by men connected with the government. The grand dignitaries of the empire presided over the electoral colleges of the large cities ; other civil officers of distinction, or members of the Legion of Honour, presided over the other colleges*.

Councillors of State were sent into the departments to watch the administration ; they transmitted the plans of government, and received the complaints and petitions of the people. A Senator

* Each electoral college closed its session by voting an address to the Emperor, which was presented to him by a deputation.

enjoying the income of a *Sénatorerie*, was obliged to reside three months every year in his arrondissement, that he might convey thither the opinions of the capital, and bring into Paris the opinions of his district.

The creation of the Legion of Honour, which divided the French territory into sixteen arrondissements, was, to use the words of the report on the law, a political institution, which placed among society a number of mediators, by whom the acts of power were transmitted to public opinion with fidelity and kindness, and through whom public opinion reached those in power.

The good effects produced by the introduction of the Code Napoleon are well known. It placed many parts of our legislation in harmony with the principles of the Revolution, and considerably diminished the number of lawsuits, by bringing a multitude of legal questions within the reach of every one's comprehension. This code, nevertheless, did not yet satisfy the Emperor. He contemplated a universal code, that it might be said, there existed no laws but those comprised within that code, and that all others might be proclaimed, once for all, null and void ; "for," said he, "with a few old edicts of Chilperic or Pharamond, brought to light again for some particular purpose, there is no man who can be sure that he may not be duly and legally hung."

To return to the Imperial system : its basis may be said to have been democratic, since every power

is derived from the people ; its organization, on the other hand, was hierarchical, different gradations in society being marked out, in order to stimulate capacity of every kind.

A free competition is opened to 40,000,000 of souls ; merit alone is their distinction, the different gradations in the social scale their reward.

Thus politically : cantonal assemblies, electoral colleges, legislative body, council of state, senate, grand dignitaries.

In a military point of view, every man is a soldier, and every soldier may become an officer, a colonel, a general, a marshal.

To the Legion of Honour every description of merit has equal claims ; civil, military, industrial, ecclesiastical, and scientific services, all are competent to achieve the stations of legionaries, officers, commanders, grand officers, and grand eagles.

Public instruction has its primary schools, its secondary schools, its lyceums, with the Institute as the head of the entire edifice.

Justice has its tribunals of first instance, its imperial courts, its courts of cassation.

Lastly, the administration has its maires, its adjoints, sub-prefects, prefects, ministers, and counsellors of state.

Napoleon was thus, to a certain extent, the focus, the central point, round which all the forces of the nation grouped themselves. He had given to France an administrative division, by means of

the prefectures and communal arrondissements ; a political, in the electoral colleges and *Sénatorerries*, a military, in the military divisions ; a judicial, in the imperial courts ; a religious, in the bishoprics ; a philosophical, in the lyceums ; a moral division, in the arrondissements of the Legion of Honour.

The political, like the educational and administrative bodies, had its feet in the communes, and its head in the Senate.

The Emperor's government might be compared to a colossal pyramid, with a broad basis and a lofty head.

If, after reviewing the period from 1800 to 1814, we turn our attention to the present, we find that most of the institutions founded by the Emperor still exist, and that they alone have sustained the administration. Though deprived of the moving power, for twenty-four years has France obeyed the impulse given her by Napoleon. Still the Empire is not to be judged according to the counterfeits we have seen: the copies have been such as to manifest an entire ignorance of the spirit that presided over their creation. To two causes we are indebted for the prodigies that developed themselves under the Empire, notwithstanding incessant warfare: the one proceeded from the genius of the man, the other from the system he had established. Under the Empire, all the intelligence, all the capacity of France, were invited to contribute towards one end —the prosperity of the country. Since then, on

the contrary, the intelligence of the country has split into hostile and struggling fractions, whose only occupation it has been, not to advance, but to squabble about the road they ought to take. Political discipline has been broken, and instead of moving on in a solid mass towards a definite point, each has imagined an order of march for himself, and has straggled away from the corps.

The Emperor has been called a despot. His power, indeed, was proportioned to the confidence the people reposed in him, and comprised all the force necessary for political creation. "Under Napoleon," says General Foy, who is certainly not to be accused of partiality, "we knew nothing of subaltern oppression, nor of the intolerance of caste, nor of the insupportable domination of parties. The law was rigid, often severe, but equal to all*." Napoleon has been called a despot, yet he never dismissed a man without an inquiry, without a regular report, and seldom without having heard the accused functionary. Napoleon never decided any civil or administrative question, without a previous discussion on the points to be disposed of†. No sovereign ever invited counsel more frequently, for he sought but one end, and that was truth. Could he be a despot, who, by his codes and organization, was constantly aiming to substitute law in the place of arbitrary power? In 1810 we see him resisting

* *Guerre de la Péninsule*, tom. i. p. 18.

† BIGNON, tom. v. p. 168.

the expropriation of land, for purposes of public utility, without a full previous inquiry*, and establishing the *Conseil du Contentieux* to regulate the employment of this portion of arbitrary power, so indispensable to the administration of the state. On this occasion he said, “The state shall be governed by legal means, and whatever necessity may oblige us to do independently of the law, shall be legalized by the intervention of a constituted body.”

In 1810, we see him manifesting his dissatisfaction at the want of a law for the regulation of the press †; and these memorable words were frequently in the Emperor’s mouth,—“This power shall not be left to my successors; they might abuse it.”

In reading history, we are surprised at the severity with which the French judge of their own government, and at their indulgence towards foreign governments. Let us take the judgment of Carrel on the administration of Cromwell, who surely was far below the French hero: “It was fortunate for

* “The utility to the public must be verified by a *senatus-consultum*, or by a law or decree discussed in the Council of State. Whatever contestations may afterwards arise, must be decided by the tribunals. I cannot reconcile myself, I own, to see arbitrary power creeping in everywhere, nor to see so vast a state provided with magistrates, to whom the people may not address their complaints.”—*The Emperor’s Words to the Council of State*.

† “The press, assumed to be free, is in the most abject slavery. The Police curtails and suppresses what works it pleases; nor is it the Minister himself who judges, for he is obliged to refer the matter to those under him. Nothing can be more irregular and arbitrary than such a system.”—*The Emperor’s Words to the Council of State*.

England that such a man (Cromwell) took upon himself the responsibility of an inevitable violence, for the usurpation led to order, instead of anarchy, and order is indispensable. In all times, exigencies have given birth to the conventions which we call principles, and principles have ever been silenced by exigencies. What was wanted was—security, repose, a greatness which might command respect from the foreign enemies of the revolution, and from such commercial interests as were hostile to those of England. An administration was required that comprehended all parties, without belonging to any; that was informed of all the ideas of the time, but professed none exclusively; that could make use of the army, yet not follow in its train. Cromwell was in the right against the Royalists, for they were the enemies of the country: against the Presbyterians, because they were intolerant, and did not understand the revolution: against the Levellers, because they demanded what was impossible; and against the extreme Republicans, because they did not understand public opinion*.”

Are not these very words a faithful explanation of the Emperor's reign? Yet, even now, Frenchmen are heard at intervals to repeat the unfounded accusation, that Napoleon's government was the government of the sabre! Could this opinion have become general, we might have repeated with Mon-

* *Histoire de la Contre-Révolution en Angleterre*, Introduction, page 60.

tesquier,—“Woe to the reputation of any prince oppressed by a party which becomes the dominant one, or who has attempted to destroy a prejudice that has survived him!”

Never was the internal government of any country less military than that of the Emperor. All his acts manifest a desire to place civil order above military order. Under the Imperial régime, no post in the civil administration was occupied by military men. The man who created civil dignities that he might oppose them to those of the army; who, by the institution of the Legion of Honour, sought to recompense equally the services of the citizen and those of the soldier; who immediately on his accession to power, turned his attention to the condition of the civil servants of the state*; who always gave them the precedence†; who, not alone in the interior, but even in conquered countries, invested councillors of state with an administrative authority superior to that of generals;—is this the man whom party spirit would paint to us as the advocate of a military government‡?

* When Napoleon came into power, military pensions were already regulated by law; but no means existed for according a civil pension. Public officers, having no security for the future, abused their official powers. The Directory, unable to grant pensions, allowed its officers to take an interest in contracts, &c., a highly immoral system.—THIBAUDEAU, tom. iii. p. 179.

† *Loi sur les Préséances*, of the 13th of July, 1804.

‡ Thibaudeau, in his *Histoire sous le Consulat*, after repeating what the Emperor had said to the Council of State, that there was no man more of a civilian than he,—adds: “If the soldier en-

It has been made matter of complaint, that a uniform, and a military discipline, were introduced into schools: but was it an evil to encourage the military spirit of the nation? that spirit which awakens the noblest passions: honour, disinterestedness, and love of country, and which instils habits of order, regularity, and submission? The military spirit is then only dangerous when it is the exclusive appanage of a caste*.

joyed importance and consideration, his authority was strictly circumscribed within its natural sphere, and the slightest infractions were immediately and severely repressed. The First Consul always supported the tribunals and prefects against his generals; the citizen had to submit to none but the civil authority. To maintain the contrary, is to deny evidence."—*Tom. ii. p. 213.*

A general invested with testimonies of his sovereign's favour, could not have ordered the arrest of an obscure culprit. The military and civil authorities frequently came into collision, in which the decision was almost always in favour of the latter.—*Ibid.*, tom. i. p. 82.

In 1806, Junot, then Governor of Paris, was accused of an infraction of the game laws. He at first treated the tribunals with contempt, but he was obliged to enter into an arrangement to avoid an execution.—*Ibid.*, tom. v. p. 318.

* With the exception of learning their exercise, in which their strength was always taken into due consideration, the pupils were subjected in their movements, their studies, their meals, and their amusements, to no other difference than that between the drum and the bell. The bell recalls ideas of humility and mortification, the drum those of glory and honour. Under the régime of the bell, the pupils were flogged; under that of the drum, all corporal punishments were prohibited. The pupils of the lyceum observed a discipline, and preserved a neat attire and manly bearing, that were not generally to be found in the pupils of the college. Still, it is said, they were inspired with a taste for arms; but was not every young man subject to the law of conscription?—*THIBAUDEAU.*

As to the military uniform, it was introduced by the Emperor into the lyceums and special schools, on the principle of equality. One day, on visiting the Prytanée of St. Cyr, he was shocked by the difference in the dresses of the pupils; some wore an elegant costume, others were in rags. The Emperor declared that this distinction should not continue; that equality ought to be the first element of education, and with this view he instituted a uniform, to be worn by all.

Again, that was a strange military government, under which the tranquillity of so vast an empire was maintained without the assistance of a single soldier, the chief of the state, meanwhile, and his army, being eight hundred leagues away from the capital*. Not once was the Imperial eagle stained by French blood shed by French troops. There are few governments that can make the same boast of their banner.

The eulogy of the Emperor is pronounced by facts, to find which it is only necessary to turn over the leaves of the *Moniteur*. His glory is like the

* No troops were necessary even in the countries annexed to the empire. When the Emperor was at Vienna, there were not fifteen hundred soldiers in Piedmont, Tuscany, and Genoa. The garrison of Paris consisted only of twelve hundred men. The Emperor drove through the crowded Carrousel, or through the park of St. Cloud, in a caleche and four, with the Empress by his side, attended by a single page, the horses walking, and the carriage surrounded by 150,000 spectators. This our contemporaries have seen.—THIBAUDEAU, tome viii., p. 176.

sun; the blind alone can fail to see it. The undeniable influence of evidence is not to be altered by obscure detractors; a few drops of ink might as easily discolour the waters of the sea. Nevertheless, as there are grovelling minds, to whom all that is great is incomprehensible, and as in a period of transition the spirit of party disfigures every historical trait, it is not superfluous to remind the masses, who entertain so much admiration for the Emperor, that their respect is not based on the deceitful glitter of empty glory, but on the just appreciation of acts, that aimed only at the well-being of humanity.

And, if in the celestial abode, where the great spirit of Napoleon now reposes, he could still be disturbed by the agitations and opinions that hold divided empire here below, might not his offended shade justly reply to his accusers: What I have done for the domestic prosperity of France, had to be performed in the interval of battles. But you who blame me, what have you done in four-and-twenty years of profound peace?

Have you appeased discord, or united parties around the altar of your country? Have you obtained for the several powers of the state, that moral preponderance which the law concedes to them, and which is the pledge of their stability?

Have you given to your Chamber of Peers the democratic organization of my Senate?

Have you preserved for the Council of State, its salutary preponderance, its beneficent activity?

Have you preserved for the Legion of Honour, the purity and influence of its first organization?

Have you given to your electoral system the democratic basis of my cantonal assemblies?

Have you facilitated access to the representative chambers, by insuring a stipend to the deputies?

Have you, like me, rewarded every kind of merit, checked corruption, and introduced into the administration that pure and strict probity which makes authority respected?

Have you made the influence of power contribute to the improvement of public morals? Has not crime, instead of diminishing, been constantly on the increase?

Have you followed up my system of freeing the communes of their debts, and ameliorating their condition?

Have you secured the rights of property, by completing the registration?

Have you, like me, caused a hundred new branches of industry to arise?

Have you, during a long peace, finished one-half of the public works which I commenced amid desolating wars?

Have you opened new vents for trade?

Have you improved the condition of the poor?

Have you made all the revenues of France subservient to her prosperity ?

Have you re-established the law of divorce, which guaranteed domestic morality ?

Have you organized the national guard, so that it may be an invincible barrier against invasion ?

Have you restrained the clergy within their proper sphere, and kept from them political power ?

Have you preserved for the army that consideration and popularity which it had so justly acquired ? Have you not rather sought to degrade the noble mission of the soldier ?

Have you restored to our survivors of Waterloo, the little bread still due to them for the blood they shed for their country ?

Has the tricoloured flag, and the name of Frenchman, preserved that imposing influence which once made them respected by the universe ?

Have you secured for France allies, on whom she may count in the hour of danger ?

Have you lessened the burdens of the people ? Are not your taxes, on the contrary, higher than my war-taxes ?

Lastly, have you relaxed the administrative centralization, which I had established only to organise the interior, and as a means of resistance against a foreign enemy ?

No ; you have retained of my reign all that was to have been merely transitory, the result of

momentary exigencies ; and you have rejected all the advantages that palliated its defects.

The benefits of peace you have been unable to obtain ; but you have preserved all the inconveniences of war, without its mighty compensations, the honour and glory of France.

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN POLICY.

Napoleon's Policy.—The Emperor's different projects.—Benefits conferred on Nations.—Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Westphalia, Poland.—His views on Spain.

THE relations of France with foreign powers may be contemplated in three different points of view. These manifest themselves in the three following systems :—

There is a blind and impassioned policy, which would fling the gage of defiance to Europe, and attempt the dethronement of all her kings.

There is one entirely opposite in its nature, which clings to the maintenance of peace, even though the honour and interest of the country be sacrificed, to purchase the friendship of foreign sovereigns.

There is a third policy which frankly tenders the alliance of France to all governments willing to seek the promotion of their common interests.

With the first there can be neither peace nor truce; with the second there is indeed no war, but also no independence; with the third no dishonourable peace, no universal war.

The third system constitutes the Napoleon policy; it is that which the Emperor acted on throughout his career; and if it did not prevent his fall, there were causes at work which shall be explained further on. One thing is certain, with any other system of policy he never could have triumphed over the aggressions of Europe. "Rome," observes Montesquieu, "became great, because she waged only successive wars, each nation, by singular good fortune, attacking her only when some other had been subdued."

What chance did for the aggrandisement of Rome, the policy of Napoleon obtained for that of France.

Already in 1796, when with 30,000 men he effected the conquest of Italy, he was not only a great general, but a profound politician. The Directory, in its ignorance, ordered General Bonaparte to dethrone the King of Sardinia, and to march upon Rome, leaving in his rear, 80,000 Austrians advancing from the Tyrol. Napoleon at once released himself from orders so ill calculated. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the King of Piedmont, entered into a treaty with the Pope, and beat the Austrians; the result of this combination was the peace of Campo

Formio. A few years later, Napoleon, the chief of a state which he had found at war with all Europe, united under the tricoloured banner, in his march on Moscow; Prussians, Hanoverians, Dutch, Saxons, Westphalians, Poles, Austrians, Wurtembergers, Bavarians, Swiss, Lombards, Tuscans, Neapolitans, &c.

It is when we see all these various nations united under his orders, that we may judge the excellence of the Emperor's policy. If he did not succeed at Moscow, his failure arose from no defect in his combinations, but fatality and the elements had leagued against him. In a great enterprise, however, it must be borne in mind, the dangers we must run are in proportion to the results we would obtain.

From the moment Napoleon came into the possession of power, he could not but aim at the attainment of some general object. In proportion, however, as events proceeded, his views became modified, and his object enlarged or contracted. "I was not weak enough," he said, "to think I could bend events to my system; but on the contrary, I moulded my system according to the texture of events."

To secure the independence of France, and establish a solid peace in Europe, was the object he was so near attaining, notwithstanding the complication of events, and the continual conflict of clashing interests. The more the secrets of diplo-

macy are unveiled, the more shall we be convinced, that Napoleon was led step by step, by the force of circumstances, to that gigantic power, which, as it was the creation of war, was also destroyed by war. He was not the aggressor; on the contrary, he was incessantly called on to repel the coalitions of Europe. If he, occasionally, appears to anticipate the designs of his enemies, it is because in the priority of action is often to be found the guarantee of success. "Besides," as Mignet says, in his *History of the Revolution*, "the true author of a war is not he who declares it, but he who renders it inevitable."

If we pass rapidly in review the mighty drama which opened at Arcole and closed at Waterloo, we shall see in Napoleon one of those extraordinary beings whom Providence creates to be the majestic instrument of its inscrutable designs, one whose mission is so completely traced before-hand, that he seems to be irresistibly impelled towards its completion.

Having effected the conquest of Italy, and borne the torch of civilization to its first cradle at the foot of the Pyramids, he returned to Europe, and by the battle of Marengo obtained the peace of which France stood so much in need. That peace, however, was of short duration, for England was bent on war. It was as though the two most civilized communities were impelled by Providence to enlighten the world, the one by exciting nations

against France; the other, by conquering, to regenerate them. For a moment the two giants are brought face to face; there is but a strip of water between them; they appear advancing to the close embrace of a deadly struggle. Such, however, is not the decree of fate. The civilizing genius of the age is doomed to move eastward. People of Illyria and Carinthia, people of the Danube, the Spree, the Elbe, and the Vistula; you will see him, you will obey his laws; as a conqueror you will adore him; you will hate him afterwards, to regret and bless him when he is no longer with you.

Each successive coalition strengthens the preponderance of France; for the God of battles is on our side, and the power of Napoleon grows with the hatred of his enemies. Our allies profit by our conquests. In 1805, Prussia, the smaller states of Germany, Italy, and Spain, are the allies of France; Ulm and Austerlitz give Hanover to Prussia, Venice to Italy, Tyrol to Bavaria. Prussia detaches herself from the French alliance, and Napoleon is constrained to humble her at Jena*. The kingdom of Westphalia is born from the dismem-

* It will be asked one day, why, in the last six years of his reign, Napoleon showed himself so implacable towards Prussia. Prussia was in point of fact the power that injured him most, by forcing him to combat and destroy her. His wish would have been to enlarge and strengthen her, that by her aid he might secure the immobility of Russia and Austria, that he might give an uncontested developement to the Continental system, and thereby force England to make peace.—BIGNON..

berment of Prussia, and the victories of Eylau and Friedland. A prospect of peace dawns at Tilsit. The two most powerful monarchs of the world, the representatives of eighty millions of human beings, of eastern and western civilization, meet on a river that forms the boundary of mighty interests. The interview of Alexander and Napoleon on the Niemen, was to Europe like the union of the two voltaic poles, which, on meeting, generate electric light by the difference of their nature. How was it possible not to anticipate a brilliant and prosperous future, when two such powerful monarchs were agreed upon the repose of the world? Napoleon, in 1808, is surrounded at Erfurth by a congress of kings, all vanquished or convinced; but England is neither vanquished nor convinced; her fleets cover our shores, and her gold disturbs the balance of treaties. In 1809, a new coalition terminates at Eckmuhl and Wagram. The French eagle hovers over Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburg; the district of Salzburg is transferred to Bavaria, and Illyria becomes a portion of the Great Empire.

Napoleon's views enlarge with the sphere of his exploits. Events have placed him in a position to will the regeneration of Europe. The great difficulty for Napoleon has not been to conquer, but to dispose of his conquests. As sovereign of France he is bound to make them subservient to the interests of France; as a great man, to the interests of Europe. That is to say, his conquests

must be made to satisfy the momentary interests of war, at the same time that they furnish the means of founding a system of general peace. The provinces incorporated with France, are so many means of exchange, held in reserve against a general pacification*. As these incorporations, however, are thought to manifest a wish for the establishment of universal monarchy, he founds kingdoms apparently independent, and places his brothers upon thrones, that they may form the columns of a new edifice in the different countries, and that they may conciliate with a semblance of stability, the chances of a transitory establishment. They alone, as kings, could be entirely subject to his will, and ready, obedient to the decrees of his policy, to descend from their thrones, and reassume the character of French princes. In them, the apparent independence of royalty was allied with the dependence of family ties. Accordingly, we behold the Emperor, yielding to the course of events, change the governments of Holland, Naples, Lombardy, Spain, and the Grand Duchy of Berg.

It was a fatality that constrained Napoleon to create so many new kingdoms. It is an error, therefore, to say that it would have been to his interest to dethrone the sovereigns of Prussia and

* "Illyria," said Napoleon, "is an advanced post at the gates of Vienna; I will give it up one day for Gallicia." In 1807, he said to a deputation from Berlin, "I had no wish to go to war; the Rhine is enough for me."

Austria, when he occupied their capitals. The Emperor, had he done so, would only have added to his embarrassments, and increased the number of his enemies. Those sovereigns were beloved by their subjects; and whom could he have substituted in their place? A government imposed by us beyond the Rhine, is as little popular as one imposed on us by foreign powers. In 1808, be it remembered, Napoleon believed it necessary to change the dynasty of a great nation. That dynasty was so degenerate, that it applauded its own fall! The country whose fate was thus placed in the hands of the Emperor, was that to whose regeneration the influence of France was most necessary. Yet Spain rose as one man to redemand the monarch whom strangers had snatched from them!

The interests and transitory exigencies of the moment, therefore, the Emperor conciliated as much as possible, with his great design, of a reform in Europe, based upon the interests of all. Fate, however, seemed always to constrain him to new wars; and, as though it were not enough to have enfranchised Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, from the shackles of an obsolete age, Napoleon is forced to lead his armies under the burning sky of Andalusia, and amid the snows of Russia, that his legions, like those of Cæsar, even in dying, may leave traces of his passage, in the germs of a new civilization. In 1812, the struggle becomes more

formidable. That universal peace may be established and consolidated, England in the west, and Russia in the east, must be persuaded by reason, or subdued by victory. The great designs of the Emperor are about to be accomplished. The west of Europe is marching upon Moscow. One winter, alas ! and all is changed ! Europe, as Napoleon would have made her, can no longer exist. From the greatness of the reverse, we may augur the gigantic results that would have attended success. The great man is no longer called on to combine and found; his task now is to defend and protect France and her allies. The field of battle is transferred from the Beresina to the heights of Montmartre. “ Peace ! Peace ! ” is the cry of cowards, who till now have been mute. But the spirit of the Emperor is inaccessible to pusillanimous counsels “ Death,” he exclaims, “ is better than a dishonourable peace ! to die is better than to reign as Emperor over a France, less great than I received her ! ”

A ray of light gleamed once more, to darken at Waterloo ! At this name, every French voice pauses, and finds a vent only in tears ! tears for the conquered, tears for the conquerors ! for these will mourn one day, that they overthrew the only man who could have mediated between two hostile centuries !

All our wars came to us from England. Never would she listen to any proposal for peace. Did

she then believe that the Emperor wished her ruin? Such a thought was never harboured in his mind. He acted against her only on a system of retaliation. The Emperor esteemed the English nation, and to be at peace with it, he would have made every sacrifice consistent with his honour. In 1800, the First Consul wrote to the King of England: "Is the war, which for eight years, has ravaged the four quarters of the globe, to last for ever? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, both more powerful than their safety and independence require, sacrifice commercial welfare, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness, to mere ideas of empty greatness? How is it possible that they should not feel peace to be the most urgent of wants, and the highest of glories?"

In 1805, the Emperor addresses the same sovereign, in the following words: "The world is large enough to allow both our nations to live in it, and reason has power enough to conciliate every thing, provided the wish exist on both sides. Peace is the dearest wish of my heart; yet war has never been adverse to my glory. I conjure your Majesty not to refuse yourself the happiness of bestowing peace."

In 1808, at Erfurth, Napoleon joined with Alexander, in endeavouring to bring the British cabinet to ideas of conciliation.

Lastly, in 1812, when the Emperor was at the zenith of his power, he repeated his proposals to

England. He always demanded peace after a victory, never would he consent to it after a defeat. "A nation," he said, "can more easily replace the loss of men than the loss of honour."

It would be too painful to believe that the war was kept up merely from a motive of hatred, or to promote the interests of the party. If a struggle so fierce was persevered in, it must have been because the two nations knew one another too little, and each deceived itself as to the condition of its neighbour. England, perchance, saw in Napoleon, only a despot, the oppressor of his own country, one who exhausted all its resources, to gratify his warlike ambition; she was unable to recognise in the Emperor, the elect of the people, the representative of all the moral and material interests for which France had fought since 1789. It may also be advanced, that the French government, confounding the enlightened aristocracy of England with the feudal aristocracy which weighed upon France before the Revolution, believed to have to do with an oppressive government. The English aristocracy, however, is like Briareus, in the fable; it is connected with the people by a hundred thousand roots; and has obtained from it as many sacrifices, as Napoleon obtained efforts from the French nation. It is deserving of remark, in the struggle between these two countries, that the rivalry of England enabled Napoleon to realise against her for a moment, a project, which Henry IV., with

the aid of Elizabeth, would have accomplished against Spain, had not the steel of an assassin deprived France and Europe of that illustrious monarch.

In another chapter, the morality of the object which the Emperor proposed to himself, shall be considered ; at present, let us examine the principal ameliorations, introduced by him into foreign countries. While other governments have treated the provinces they acquired, as conquered countries, all the nations under the sway of the Emperor, were made to participate in the advantages of an enlightened administration ; and the countries which he incorporated with France, instantly enjoyed the same prerogatives as the mother country. He never gave away a crown, without imposing two conditions upon the king named by him ; the inviolability of the constitution, and the guarantee of the public debt.

In Italy, he forms a great kingdom, with its own administration, its own Italian army. Every administrative and judicial office is filled by natives. The military is no longer composed of mercenaries, the refuse of the people ; but every man is called on to defend his country, and the army becomes an army of citizens. The sovereign no longer disposes, at his own caprice, of the public treasury, but has his civil list assigned him. Feudality, tithes, mortmain, and the monastic orders, are done away with. A constitutional statute establishes three colleges : the *possidenti*, the *commercianti*, and the *dotti*. To the two first colleges, to which admis-

sion was obtained by the payment of a certain amount of taxes, a third college was added, not bound by such an obligation. Under the name of College of the Learned, it was composed of 200 citizens, chosen amongst those most distinguished in science, mechanics, or the liberal arts ; either by their ecclesiastical doctrines, or by their knowledge of legislation, politics, or administrative policy.

The citizens are organized as a national guard, The country, divided into departments, administered by prefects and sub-prefects, loses that provincial spirit so destructive of nationality. New laws for the regulation of property and mortgages, simplify the administration, and enrich the country. Agriculture, science, and the arts are encouraged. The French code is introduced, together with the publicity of all criminal trials. Workhouses are erected in several towns, that mendicity may be destroyed. Convents are changed into hospitals. Justices of peace are installed, and the decimal system introduced, for money, weights and measures. Public instruction is regulated by a law, dividing the economical part into three degrees ; national, departmental, and communal : the scientific also into three degrees ; transcendental, intermediate, and elementary ; at the head of the system arose the National Institute. The Italian Concordat secured the temporal against the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power. The population of the various parts of Italy becomes

more connected, by the increased facility of communication. The Alps are levelled, and new roads, cut through the Apennines, unite Piedmont to the Mediterranean. The glory of Italy dawns again, and, for the first time since the days of Cæsar, Italian legions are seen marching as conquerors over the soil of Iberia. The lovely name of *Italia*, obsolete for centuries, is restored to what till then had been detached provinces, and a bright future of independence opens before it*.

Napoleon destroyed those petty republics, which, as Montesquieu has said, owed their existence only to the perpetuation of their abuses. From the Alps to Otranto, we behold only three great divisions: the kingdom of Italy, the kingdom of Naples, and the French provinces. Napoleon had annexed Piedmont, Rome, and Florence, to the great empire, that the people might be accustomed to a government that converted men into citizens and soldiers. At the termination of the war, he would have restored them to the mother country; and those provinces, tempered by his authority, would have rejoiced in the transfer from French domination to an Italian government. Had this great reorganization been more hasty, the popula-

* On receiving the Italian deputation, which came to offer him the crown, Napoleon replied publicly to M. Melzi:—"It has always been my intention to create the Italian nation free and independent. I accept the crown, but shall keep it only so long as my interests require me to do so."—BOTTA, liv. 22. p. 5.

tion, unprepared by French action for a common nationality, would, no doubt, have regretted their former political individualities.

Switzerland, a prey to civil war, and threatened at the same time by the terrors of anarchy and the encroachments of the aristocracy, is pacified instantly by the mediation of Napoleon. He calls around him the representatives of Helvetia; combats the opinion of those, who desire liberty for a few cantons only, dependence for the rest; and, having patiently discussed the interests of each, induces them to adopt a constitution, which, while it consecrates the principles of liberty and justice, preserves of the former order of things, whatever is compatible with those principles. The principal clauses of the Act of Mediation were:—Firstly, the equality of rights in the nineteen cantons; Secondly, the voluntary renunciation of their privileges by the patrician families; Thirdly, a federative organization, constituting each canton according to its language, religion, manners, interests, and opinion. Switzerland, indebted to the Act of Mediation for twelve years of peace and prosperity, has ever since preserved a strong feeling of gratitude for the memory of her mediator.

Southern Germany, freed from the yoke of the Germanic Empire, beholds civilization advancing under the auspices of the Code Napoleon, and, instead of being parcelled out into 284 states, the

number is reduced to 31 by the establishment of the Rhenish Confederation*.

* Lordships and Sovereignties of ancient Germany, having a voice in the Diet, and within their own territories, the right of legislation and justice:—

Electors.	9
Lay Princes	61
Ecclesiastical Princes	33
Abbeys with Seignorial rights	41
Counts and Lords of the Empire, in Wetteraria	16
,, ,, ,, Suabia	23
,, ,, ,, Franconia	17
,, ,, ,, Westphalia	33
 Total number of Sovereigns	233
Republics	51
 Total number of States	284
 The Decree of Ratisbon (1808,) the first act of the Germanic Empire drawn up under the influence of Napoleon, reduced these states to the number of 147.	
Electors	10
Lordships with a voice in the Diet	131
Free Cities	6
 Total	147

By the Confederation of the Rhine, the Emperor mediatised all these princes, so that there remained 31 states.

Kings	4
Elector Arch-Chancellor	1
Grand Dukes	3
Landgrave	1
Princes	11
Dukes	10
Count	1
 Total number of States	31

Westphalia, another germ of regeneration, planted on the Elbe, composed of provinces subject to all the abuses of feudalism, receives institutions, by which the equality of all citizens in the eye of the law is consecrated, every industrial privilege and every description of vassalage abolished. The introduction of the Civil Code, the publicity of sentences of juries in criminal matters, are so many ameliorations due to the French ascendancy. Tenures from the crown are declared freeholds, reverting, however, to the crown where no heirs are to be discovered. Provident arrangements are adopted, to prevent the lawsuits likely to arise from the abolition of vassalage. An express law regulates the extinction, by purchase, of annuities and feudal dues. Every religious sect enjoys an equal liberty, and the Jews have their own consistorium.

In Bavaria, King Maximilian promulgates, in 1808, a constitution, by which feudal privileges are destroyed, and popular liberty secured.

In the grand duchies of Baden and Berg, as in the countries of Erfurth, Fulda, Hanau, and Bayreuth, the influence of the Emperor procures, in 1808, the abolition of vassalage and seignorial rights. The serfs recover the plenitude of civil rights, and the faculty of possessing land.

Liberty of conscience had no existence in Saxony; the Emperor succeeds in procuring its introduction, by the constitution of 1806.

Poland, that sister of France, ever so devoted, ever so magnanimous, may look for an early resurrection, for the Emperor erects the duchy of Warsaw, as a nucleus for a complete nationality. The constitution of this new duchy abolishes slavery, consecrates equality of rights, introduces the civil code of France, and places every individual under the guardianship of the tribunals. The King of Saxony is chosen sovereign of Warsaw, as descending from princes who had reigned over Poland. In his quality of Grand Duke of Warsaw, he has about him a council of state composed of the most distinguished Poles. A constitutional statute is decreed, to secure the privileges and liberties of the people. The General Diet is composed of two chambers, that of the senate, and that of the nuncios or deputies, and by these the taxes are voted, and the laws discussed. In short, as has been said by M. Bignon, in a work equally distinguished by talent and patriotism, a tribune is opened at Warsaw, amid the silent atmosphere of neighbouring governments.

Disposing, as he did, in an arbitrary manner, of the destinies of so many nations, the Emperor always made them co-operate in the enactment of the laws which they received. His conduct was the same in every country of which he changed the ancient form of government. In 1800, he caused the deputies of Northern Italy to repair to Lyons, and there discussed with them the constitution by

which they are to be governed*. In 1805, another Extraordinary Council met at Paris, to constitute the Kingdom of Italy. In Holland, the Legislative Body of that country was charged to draw up the constitution. The Act of Mediation for Switzerland, was likewise the work of deputies from the cantons, assembled at Paris.

The Emperor's system, of calling around him the most distinguished individuals of a country, that they might assist in the work of its regeneration, had produced such happy results in Italy and Switzerland, that he resolved, in 1808, to apply it to Spain, more than any other nation in need of a political resurrection.

It was not to dethrone the kings of Spain, that the Emperor repaired to Bayonne; but when he saw Charles IV. and Ferdinand at his feet, and was himself able to judge of their incapacity, he took pity on the fate of a great nation; in his own words, he "caught by the hair" the opportunity which fortune presented him for reconstituting Spain, and uniting her intimately to his system. He assembled at Bayonne a national Junta extraordinary, composed of deputies elected by the several provinces. The plan of a constitution was

* This Extraordinary Council comprised all the notabilities of the republic, the clergy, the magistracy, the administrations of departments and principal cities, the chambers of commerce, the academies, and universities, the national guards, and the troops of the line. Every class and profession had its representatives there.

submitted to the free discussion of the Junta. This plan included a senate, a council of state, and cortes or national assemblies ; the judicial system of France was adopted ; equality was guaranteed in the liability to taxes, and the admission to public offices ; entailed properties were reduced in number ; the liberty of the press was authorized to commence in two years after the existence of the constitution ; this charter, in short, guaranteed all the rights that the Spanish nation could wish for, and destroyed all old abuses, together with the inquisition, feudal privileges, &c.* On announcing his intentions to the people of the Peninsula, the Emperor addressed to them these memorable words : “ Spaniards ! after a long agony your nation was on the point of perishing. I have beheld your misfortunes, and will apply a remedy. I have no desire to reign over your provinces, but I wish to acquire an eternal claim to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy has grown old, I will make it young again. I will ameliorate all your institutions, and, if you second me, I will make you enjoy the benefits

* On his arrival at Madrid, the Emperor abolished the inquisition. He reduced the convents, but at the same time, secured a decent maintenance to the monks, and increased the incomes of the parochial clergy. He suppressed feudal rights and personal dues. He removed the custom-house line to the frontier. The alienation of certain civil and ecclesiastical impositions was revoked, and every kind of seignorial jurisprudence abolished.—BIGNON, tom. vii, p. 54.

of reform, without a collision, without disorder, and without a convulsion Spaniards ! I have convoked a general assembly of deputations from your provinces and cities. I wish to assure myself of your wants and your desires, and I will then place your glorious crown upon the head of another myself, promising you a constitution which may conciliate the light and salutary authority of the sovereign, with the liberty and privileges of the people. I intend your latest descendants to cherish my memory, and to say of me : ' He was the regenerator of our country.' "

Spain, however, of all nations, was least prepared for a social change. Deaf to so noble a language, she repelled the only hand that could have saved her. Her regret must now be the more acute, since the terrible prediction of the Emperor at St. Helena is in the course of being accomplished. " I would have spared them," he said, " the frightful tyranny that now crushes them, and the terrible agitations that await them."

If war be the scourge of humanity, that scourge loses no little share of its evil influence, when the force of arms is called to found, and not to destroy. The wars of the Empire were like the overflowing of the Nile ; while the waters of the river cover the plains of Egypt, they bear the aspect of devastation, but no sooner have they retired, than abundance and fertility mark their passage.

CHAPTER V.

THE POINT AT WHICH THE EMPEROR AIMED.

Association in Europe.—Liberty in France.

WHEN the fortune of arms had made Napoleon master of the greater part of the Continent, he became desirous of making his conquests subservient to the establishment of a European confederation*.

With a quick eye for the tendency of civilisation, the Emperor accelerated its march, by giving immediate execution to what appeared to be contained in the distant decrees of Providence. His genius taught him to foresee, that the rivalship which divides the different nations of Europe, would disappear before a well conceived general interest.

The more the world improves, the less precise become the barriers that divide mankind, the more numerous become the countries which the same interests tend to unite.

* He prefaced the *Acte Additionnel* by these remarkable words: "I had it in view," said he, speaking of the past, "to organize a great European *federative system*, which I had adopted, as conformable to the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization. To complete it, and give to it all the extent and stability of which it might be susceptible, I had *adjourned* the establishment of several internal institutions, more especially destined to protect the liberty of citizens."

In the infancy of society, the state of nature exists between man and man. A common interest soon unites a small number of individuals, willing to renounce a portion of their natural rights, that society may guarantee to them the enjoyment of all the others. A tribe or community is thus formed, an association in which the state of nature disappears, and laws are substituted for the right of the strongest. The greater the progress of civilization, the greater has been the scale on which this change has been operated. Men at first fought house against house, and hill against hill ; but soon the spirit of conquest, and the spirit of combination, gave birth to cities, to provinces, and to states, and a sentiment of common danger leading to a union of a large number of these territorial fractions, nations were constituted. A national interest now embracing every local and provincial interest, battles were fought only between people and people, and each in turn has marched triumphantly over the territory of its neighbour, when led by a great man or impelled by a great cause. Successively, the commune, the city, the province, have enlarged their social sphere, and contracted the limits within which exists the state of nature. This transition, however, has been arrested on the frontier of each country, and force, and not justice, it is, that even now decides the fate of nations.

To substitute among the nations of Europe the social state for the state of nature,—such was the

idea of the Emperor. All his political combinations tended to this immense result. To achieve it, it was necessary that England and Russia should frankly second his views.

"As long as there is fighting in Europe," said Napoleon, "every war will be a civil war."

"The Holy Alliance," he said, "is an idea they have stolen from me." That is to say, the holy alliance of nations through their kings, not that of kings against nations. Here we have the immense difference between his idea, and the manner in which it has been worked out. Napoleon had displaced sovereigns for the momentary interest of nations ; in 1815, nations were displaced, to suit the private interests of sovereigns. The statesmen of that epoch, consulting only their animosities and passions, rested their balance of power in Europe on the jealousies of the great powers, instead of basing it on general interests. Their system, accordingly, has fallen together in all its parts.

The Emperor's policy, on the contrary, was to found a solid association in Europe, by resting his system on complete nationality, and on the satisfaction of general interests. Had fortune not abandoned him, the means for constituting Europe would not have been wanting. He held in reserve whole countries, of which he could dispose towards the attainment of his object. People of Holland, Rome, Piedmont, Hamburg, and Bremen, all you who were surprised to find yourselves Frenchmen,

you will return into the atmosphere of nationality which alone is suitable to your recollections and to your position. Nor will France, in renouncing the rights which victory gave her, act contrary to her own interest, for her interest cannot be other than that of civilized nations. To cement the European association, the Emperor, according to his own words, would have procured the adoption of a European code, and of a Court of Cassation for all Europe, where all errors might have been redressed, even as in France the Court of Cassation redresses the errors of the other tribunals. He would have founded a European Institute, to animate, direct, and regulate, all the learned associations of Europe*. A uniformity of currency, as well as of weights and measures, together with a uniformity of legislation, would have been obtained through his powerful intervention.

The last great transformation for our continent would then have been accomplished. Upon the

* A commencement had already been made of this European Association, in the scientific department, by the institution of European prizes for discoveries and new inventions. The continuance of the war did not prevent Davy in London, and Hermann in Berlin, from gaining the prizes of the Institute.

In a similar spirit of European confraternity, the Emperor caused it to be declared, by a *Senatus consultum*, of the 21st of February, 1808, that those who rendered important services to the state, or who introduced talents, inventions, or a useful branch of industry; or, who formed large establishments; might, after a year's residence, be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights of French citizens, to be conferred on them by an express decree.

same principle, then, that the interests of the commune take precedence of individual interests, that those of the city go before those of the commune; those of the province before those of the city; and, those of the province yield to those of the nation, upon the same principle European interests would have prevailed over national interests, and humanity would have been satisfied, for it cannot be the will of Providence that one nation should be prosperous only at the cost of others, or that there should be in Europe only conquerors and conquered, rather than the members of one great family living in harmony with one another.

Europe once founded according to the views of Napoleon, he would have proceeded to the establishment of peace in France. He would have consolidated liberty; to do so, he needed but to loosen the strings of the net he had himself woven.

Napoleon's government could more easily have supported liberty than any other, for liberty would have strengthened his throne, while it overturns those raised on a less solid basis.

Liberty would have strengthened his power, because he had established in France all that is necessary should precede liberty *; because his power reposed upon the entire mass of the nation; because his interest and that of the people were the same; because, in short, the most entire confidence reigned between the government and the governed.

* See the commencement of the third chapter, page 24.

In fact, without an identity of interest, and entire confidence, no authority is possible; however wisely a government may act, and however honest its intentions, it must perish if culpable designs are attributed to all its acts. "One of the most indispensable qualities of a government," says M. Thiers*, "is to possess that good name that repels injustice. When a government has lost this, so that every thing is imputed to it as a crime, the faults of others as well as those of fortune, the faculty of governing no longer exists, and this impotence condemns itself to retirement."

In England, in 1687, the want of confidence on the part of the people in the sovereign, led to fatal consequences. King James II., of his own authority, proclaimed religious liberty for all his subjects; but the nation distrusted the intentions of the sovereign, and believing that he only sought to favour the triumph of Catholicism, was irritated by an act supposed to be dictated by duplicity, though the principle on which it was founded was both just and generous.

To Napoleon, on the contrary, possessing the unlimited confidence of the people, everything was easy. He had surmounted the greater difficulty by laying the foundation of a solid edifice, and by reconciling all the members of the French family. All were agreed upon the fundamental basis of the constitution. To such a point were the interests of

* *Histoire de la Révolution*, tome x., p. 276.

the majority confounded in those of Napoleon's dynasty, that in 1811, on the spot where a few years before implacable hatred had been sworn to royalty, all Paris, all France, were seen hailing with acclamations the birth of a child, because that child appeared to be a pledge for the duration and stability of the Imperial government.

Beloved as he was by the humbler classes, could Napoleon fear the extension of political rights to all citizens? When, on being named Consul for life, he re-established the right of election, he uttered these memorable words:—"For the stability of government it is necessary the people should have a larger share in the elections." So early, therefore, as 1803, Napoleon foresaw that liberty would strengthen his power. His warmest partisans being among the people, the more widely he extended the right of suffrage, the greater was his chance that those naturally his friends should be returned to the legislative assembly; the greater the power he extended to the masses, the more he strengthened his own.

The most entire freedom of discussion in the Chambers would in no way have been dangerous to the Imperial government; for all being agreed upon the fundamental questions, a parliamentary opposition would have given rise only to a noble emulation, and instead of expending its energy on attempts to overthrow, would have confined its activity to efforts at amelioration.

The liberty of the press, moreover, could only have made the greatness of Napoleon's conceptions more evident, as well as the benefits derived from his reign. General, Consul, Emperor, need he have feared to be reproached with conquests, of which the results were the greatness and prosperity of France, the peace of the world? Could he fear that a brighter glory would be placed in opposition to his own? No; it was not a government all beaming with civil and military laurels, that needed to fear the face of day! The greater the moral force of any constituted authority, the less material force does it require towards its support: the greater the power conferred by public opinion, the less necessity does there arise for the employment of that power.

It cannot be too often repeated, that an identity of interest between the sovereign and the people, forms the essential basis of a dynasty. That government cannot be shaken that can truly say, Whatever is to the advantage of the many, whatever will secure the liberty of citizens and the prosperity of the country, will strengthen my authority and consolidate my power. But can we expect that a government whose partisans are all in one class, and whose enemies only derive arms from an extension of liberty, should be favourable to liberty, or to an enlargement of the electoral system? Can we demand of a government that it commit an act of suicide?

With Napoleon, the country would have arrived by easy steps at a normal state, in which liberty would have been the stay of power, and the guarantee of general welfare, instead of being a weapon of offence and a torch of discord.

It is with an impression like that felt by a delicious dream, that we pause to contemplate the picture of happiness and stability which Europe would have presented, if the vast designs of the Emperor had been accomplished. Each country, circumscribed within its natural limits, united to its neighbour by relations of friendship and interest, would have enjoyed within itself the blessings of independence, peace, and freedom. Sovereigns, exempt from fear and suspicion, would have applied themselves to ameliorate the condition of their subjects, and to disseminate among them all the advantages of civilization !

Instead of this, what is it that we now have in Europe ? Every one now, when he lies down for the night, dreads the morning ; for everywhere is the germ of evil, and the well-meaning even dread the good, on account of the sacrifices that must be made to obtain it !

Lovers of liberty, who rejoiced over the fall of Napoleon, how fatal has been your error ! How many years will yet pass away, how many struggles and sacrifices must you see, before you will have arrived at the point to which Napoleon had brought you !

And you, statesmen at the Congress of Vienna, you who, on the ruins of the Empire, lorded it over the world, your office might have been a great one, but you comprehended not its greatness! In the name of liberty, and even of licentiousness, you excited the nations to mutiny against Napoleon; you placed him under the ban of the empire, as a despot and tyrant; you boasted that you had enfranchised nations, and secured repose. For a moment you obtained belief; but nothing solid can ever be built on falsehood and error! Napoleon had closed the abyss of revolutions; you, in overthrowing him, have re-opened it. Beware, lest you yourselves be swallowed up by that abyss!

CHAPTER VI.

CAUSE OF THE EMPEROR'S FALL.

In the preceding chapters an endeavour has been made to show the chances of durability inherent in the Imperial creations. It will be said, however, This edifice, so solid in appearance, has been overthrown; this foreign policy, which appears to you so profound, has been the cause of its destruction.

To this we reply: The edifice was solid in its interior, for the shock that overthrew it did not come from within. As to the system conceived by the Emperor, it was not in his power definitively to

establish it, and to appreciate its force, it ought first to have been seen in action.

The Emperor fell, because he completed his work too soon ; because events pressed too rapidly upon one another : he may be said to have been too quick with his conquests. Advancing by his genius before his century and before mankind, in prosperity he was thought a god, in adversity his temerity alone was thought of. Carried away by the tide of victory, Napoleon could not be followed in his rapid course by those philosophers, who, confining their ideas to the narrow circle of the domestic hearth, lent their aid to stifle civilization herself for the sake of one ray of liberty.

On the other hand, foreign nations, impatient of the momentary evils of war, forgot the benefits which Napoleon brought them, and on account of a temporary evil, they rejected a long futurity of independence. It was not vouchsafed, even to the greatest genius of modern times, to persuade all of his rectitude, or to destroy in a few years all the prejudices entertained by foreigners.

France had grown too great by the Revolution, not to awaken jealousy and animosity. To appease such sentiments, it would have been necessary, at the very outset of the Empire, to descend. This jealousy and animosity, on the contrary, raised Napoleon to the very zenith of his power ; when he was subsequently obliged to descend, it was impossible for him to arrest his downward course.

As time had not cemented his alliances, nor effaced the recollections of recent enmity, on his first reverse his allies turned against him. Deceived in his anticipations, the Emperor was no longer willing to adhere to proposals which he did not believe to be sincere; the strangers, on the other side, seeing that Napoleon only grew more proud after each defeat, believed he would never consent to a definitive peace.

Napoleon fell, only because, his plans increasing with the elements at his command, he sought to perform in ten years, the work of several centuries. The Emperor failed, not from impotence, but from exhaustion; and notwithstanding his frightful reverses, his innumerable calamities, the French people ever continued to strengthen him by their voices, to support him by their efforts, to encourage him by their attachment.

To those who feel the blood of this great man circulate in their veins, it is a consolation to reflect on the regret that accompanied his disappearance. Great and exulting is the thought, that it required all the efforts of combined Europe, to tear Napoleon from that France which he had made so mighty! It was not the people of France who, in their anger, undermined his throne; it required twice twelve hundred thousand foreigners, to break the Imperial sceptre!

The funeral is indeed splendid of that sovereign, whose weeping country follows him to his last home!

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

THE period of the Empire was one of a deadly struggle between England and France. England triumphed ; but thanks to the creative genius of Napoleon, France, though conquered, lost, materially speaking, less than England. Our finances are still the most prosperous in Europe, while England is borne down by the weight of her debt. The impulse given to industry and trade was not arrested by our reverses ; at present the European continent furnishes itself with a large part of those productions which it formerly received from England.

Who then, we will now ask, are the greatest statesmen, those who governed countries that have gained, notwithstanding defeat, or those who reigned over states that have lost, notwithstanding victory ?

The period of the Empire was a life and death struggle against the old European system. The old system triumphed ; but the fall of Napoleon has not prevented the ideas of Napoleon from striking root. The conquerors have adopted the ideas of the conquered, and nations are wasting

themselves in efforts to reconstruct what Napoleon had established among them.

Under other names and other forms, France is incessantly demanding the realization of the Emperor's ideas. Whenever a great measure or a great work is completed, it is seldom anything but the execution or the termination of one of Napoleon's designs. Every act of power, every suggestion of the Chambers, is placed under the ægis of Napoleon, with a view to obtain for it popularity; upon a word dropped from his mouth a whole system is built.

Italy and Poland have sought to recover that national organization given them by Napoleon.

Spain is pouring out the blood of her children in torrents, to re-establish the institutions guaranteed to her in 1808, by the Consultum of Bayonne. The troubles which now agitate that country are but the natural reaction to the resistance offered to the Emperor.

Even in London there has been a reaction; for we have seen him who was major-general to the French army at Waterloo, feasted by the English people upon a footing of equality with the conqueror.

Belgium, in 1830, openly manifested the wish, to become again what it had been under the Empire.

Many countries of Germany are now clamouring for laws which Napoleon had given them.

The Cantons of Switzerland, by general consent, prefer the Act of Mediation of 1803, to the pact that now binds them.

Even in the democratic republic of Berne, we have seen the districts which formerly belonged to France, claim, in 1838, from the government of Berne, the re-establishment of the Imperial laws, of which they had been deprived in 1815, by their incorporation with the republic.

Who then are the greatest statesmen, those who found a system which crumbles together notwithstanding all their power, or those who found a system that either survives their defeat, or rises again from its ashes ?

The ideas of Napoleon then bear the character of ideas that regulate the movement of society, since they advance by their own impetus even when deprived of their author ; like a body that hurled into universal space arrives by the force of its own gravity at the assigned goal.

It is no longer necessary to reconstruct the Imperial system, for it will reconstruct itself ; sovereigns and nations will contribute to its re-establishment, as each will see in it a guarantee of order, peace, and prosperity.

Where shall we now find that extraordinary man who may awe the world by the respect due to the superiority of his conceptions ?

The genius of our period has occasion only for simple reason. Thirty years ago, it was necessary

to divine and prepare ; at present all that is necessary is to see correctly, and to gather in the fruits.

“In contemporary as in historical facts,” said Napoleon, “we may find instruction, but rarely a model to be imitated.” We cannot copy what is gone by, for imitations do not always produce a resemblance to the original.

To copy a by-gone government in its details, and not in its spirit, would be as though a general, encamped on the same field where Napoleon or Frederick conquered, were to think he could secure success by repeating the same manœuvres.

In reading the history of a nation, as in reading the history of a battle, we must study to deduce general principles, not follow with servility a track marked out, not in sand, but on a more elevated ground, the interests of humanity.

Let us conclude by repeating, that the ruling idea of Napoleon was not an idea of war, but a social, industrial, commercial, and humane idea. If to the eyes of some it appears ever attended by the thunder of war, we can only admit, that it was indeed too long enveloped in the smoke of artillery and the dust of battle. But the clouds have now been dispelled, and through the glory of arms, we discern a civil glory, at once more bright and more durable.

Let then the manes of the Emperor rest in peace ! His memory becomes greater with each

succeeding day. Every wave that breaks on the rock of St. Helena, every wind breathed from Europe, bears an homage to his memory, a tear to his ashes, and the echoes of Longwood repeat over his grave:—“THE NATIONS THAT ARE FREE ARE EVERYWHERE LABOURING TO RECONSTRUCT THY WORK.”

APPENDIX.

I.

A Letter, written by Napoleon to the Minister of the Interior, on the subject of Communes.

EACH commune represents, in France, a thousand inhabitants. To labour for the prosperity of the 36,000 communities, is to labour for the happiness of 30,000,000 inhabitants ; but simplifying the question, and diminishing the difficulty, by the ratio of 36,000 to 30,000,000. This was what Henry IV. meant to do, when he talked of the pullet in the pot ; in any other sense, he would only have spoken an absurdity.

Before the Revolution, the commune belonged to the *seigneurs* and the priests ; the vassal and the parishioner had no roads of communication ; for their cows and sheep there were no ditches, nor pasture grounds.

Since 1790, when the property of the feudal lord was so suddenly and so justly deprived of the common right of walk and pasturage, each municipality has, under the protection of general laws, become a *person*, with the right of possessing, acquiring, selling, and of performing all lawful acts, in the interest of the municipal family. By this great and national conception, France beheld herself suddenly divided into 36,000 individualities, each called on to experience all the wants of a *landonneur*, namely, to enlarge his domain, to improve its produce, to increase his income, &c. Here was the germ of prosperity of France. If it has not been possible to develop this germ, the reason is this :

The personal interest of the proprietor is ever on the watch, to turn everything to account ; the interest of a community, on the contrary, is in its nature somniferous and sterile. Personal interest requires instinct only ; the interest of the community demands virtue—which is rare.

Since 1790, the 36,000 communes represent in France 36,000 orphans, heirs of the ancient rights of feudalism, neglected or pillaged for the last ten years by the municipal guardians of the Convention and of the Directory. A change of maires, adjoints, and communal councillors, has, in general, been to them only a change in the mode of plunder. The lane has been plundered, the path has been plundered, the trees have been plundered, the church has been plundered, the moveable goods of the commune have been plundered, and the system of plunder still goes on under the languid municipal régime of the year VIII.

What would become of the communes if such a régime were to continue for ten years longer ? They would be so many heirs loaded with debt, and demanding alms from the inhabitants, instead of offering that protection and succour which it is their office to afford ; like so many spendthrifts, they would have sold or pawned their last rags, and would no longer be able to live on loans, for none would lend to them. Every one would dread to fix his residence in the indebted commune, where he would have to look for charges and imposts of every kind, under the form of mendicity, subscriptions, cotisations, extraordinary contributions, &c. The commune should be attractive to population ; it would be repulsive.

The first duty of a Minister of the Interior is to arrest such an evil, which would carry corruption into these 36,000 limbs of the social body.

The first condition towards the arresting of a great evil, is to have a clear conception of its gravity, and of its accompanying circumstances.

The Minister of the Interior will, therefore, begin by forming a general inventory of the situation of the 36,000 communes of France.

This inventory has always been wanting. The principal facts to be set down are these. Three classes are to be made: communes in debt, communes clear from debt, and communes having resources at their command. The two last classes are the least numerous; with these there is no hurry to occupy ourselves.

The question at present is, how to clear of their burdens the communes now in debt.

The inventory will state: 1. the property devolving on the commune, in consequence of the ancient division of communal property; 2. a detail of the loans, of what remains to be paid, and of the period that any payments may be overdue; 3. a valuation of the revenues, stating the nature of the objects, as locations, rents, &c.; 4. a statement of other charges than those properly belonging to the commune, as rents to hospitals, charitable establishments, &c.; 5. a detailed account of the roads, with a clear indication of those which are useful, and those which may be sold; 6. the state of such parsonages, churches, and dependent buildings, as may be without incumbents, for there are a multitude of churches, annexed to the ancient parishes, which are now falling into ruins, and in which the country people keep their straw and hay, without any authorisation, and without the payment of any rent; it must be pointed out what can be sold or turned to account by individuals; 7. a detail of the recoveries to be obtained from those residing on the banks of rivers, who may have defrauded the commune; 8. the trees which might be advantageously sold, and what their nature; 9. it must be pointed out whether there be any ground for raising the leases and rents of the rights of fishing, pasturing, &c.; 10. in a development appended to this great table, the principal results of an investigation ordered by the Minister, that the nota-

bles of the commune, and, if need be, of the canton, may point out the best means of promptly repairing the material fortune of the commune.

This inventory, I anticipate, will comprise more than half the communes, for every municipality, obliged to impose on itself any extraordinary tax, is a commune in debt.

This inventory once made out, the prefects and sub-prefects will be warned, that the whole activity of the administrative force is to be made to bear on these communes in debt; and that such maires and adjoints as do not enter into the views of communal amelioration and regeneration, are to be immediately displaced. The prefect is to visit these communes at least twice a year, and the sub-prefect four times a year, under pain of dismissal. Once a month, a report is to be made to the Minister, on the subject of each commune, of the results already obtained, and of the measures that remain to be taken.

A premium is to be proposed to me for such maires as shall have liberated their communes within two years; and in the case of a commune not liberated within five years, an extraordinary commissioner shall be appointed by government, to undertake its administration. (This, of course, will give rise to an express project of law.)

At the end of five years, there will be only two classes of communes in France: communes having resources at their command, and communes clear from debt. We shall already have effaced from the map of France, the municipalities in debt, of which the community is falling into a state of dissolution, and becoming burdensome to the inhabitants.

This first point having been obtained, the Minister's efforts will be directed to raising the communes *out of debt* to the class of communes *having resources at their command*, so that in the course of ten years, there may remain only one class of communes in France. The

general movement of prosperity, impressed upon the country by the private efforts of 36,000,000, will then be found multiplied by the ameliorating power of 36,000 communal individualities, all acting, under the direction of government, towards one object of continual improvement.

Each year, the fifty maires who shall have contributed most towards bringing their communes to a state of liberation, or to one in which they have resources at their command, shall be summoned to Paris, at the expense of the state, and solemnly presented to the Three Consuls. A column, erected at the expense of government, and placed at the principal entrance to the town or village, will carry the name of the maire to posterity; in addition to which the following words will be inscribed:

Au tuteur de la commune, la patrie reconnaissante.

II.

Extract from a Report on the Situation of the Empire, presented to the Legislative Body, in its sitting of the 25th of February, 1813, by Count Montalivet, Minister of the Interior.

Gentlemen,

His MAJESTY has commanded me to make known to you the situation of the interior of the empire, in the years 1811 and 1812

You will see with satisfaction, that notwithstanding the great armies which a maritime and continental war obliges us to keep on foot, the population has continued to increase; that our industry has made fresh progress; that our fields were never better cultivated, nor our manufactures more flourishing; that at no period of our

history was wealth more widely diffused among the various classes of society.

POPULATION.

The population of France in 1789 was 26,000,000. The present population of the empire amounts to 42,700,000, of whom 28,700,000 belong to the ancient departments of France, making an increase of 2,700,000, or nearly one-tenth in twenty-four years.

AGRICULTURE.

France, on account of the extent and fertility of her soil, must be considered an essentially agricultural state.

Nevertheless, she was long obliged to address herself to her neighbours, to obtain the supply of several of her principal wants. She has now almost entirely relieved herself of this necessity.

The average produce of a harvest in France is 270,000,000 quintals of corn, of which 40,000,000 must be reserved for seed.

The population of the empire being 42,000,000, an average harvest gives 520 pounds of corn to each individual. This, according to calculations made at various times, is beyond what is necessary.

After long inquiries made by order of the ancient government, the necessary supply for each individual was calculated at 470 pounds, and it was found, on an average, that the produce of France was equal to such a consumption.

The amount of corn grown in France has, therefore, increased by one-tenth.

Next to corn, the principal production of our soil is wine.

France produces, one year with another, 40,000,000 hectolitres of wine.

The exportation of wines before the Revolution amounted to 41,000,000, at present it amounts to 47,000,000.

The exportation of brandies amounted formerly to 13,000,000 now to 30,000,000.

In 1792, the consumption of wine for all France was estimated only at 16,500,000 hectolitres. It has consequently doubled, though the territories united to the empire form rather less than one-third of the present population.

Order has been re-established in the administration of the forests. They are becoming peopled again, and intersected by roads and canals, rendering those accessible from which it was before impossible to derive a profit. Our numerous civil, military, and naval constructions are abundantly provided, and we are indebted to foreign countries for wood to the value of 5,000,000 only. In 1789, our supply from abroad was 11,000,000.

The annual value of our vegetable oils is 250,000,000. Twenty-five years ago we were indebted to foreigners for 20,000,000. At present, we not only dispense with importations, but we even export annually for five or six millions.

Tobacco was formerly cultivated in very few of our provinces. This article alone cost us annually eight or ten millions. At present, 80,000,000 pounds of tobacco are the produce of 80,000 arpens of our land devoted to this branch of cultivation. The soil of France has accordingly enriched itself by the annual produce of 12,000,000 in the article of tobacco; but being an article of raw produce, it increases in value sixfold by fabrication.

Our average produce of silk amounts to 22,000,000 of pounds weight of cocoons.

Our importation of spun silk formerly amounted to 25,000,000. During the last four years, our average importation has been 10,000,000; nevertheless, our exportations are at present double what they formerly were.

This amelioration is owing, in a great measure, to our improved system of rearing the worms. The net

produce of the cocoons in ancient France was estimated only at 2,000,000.

35,000,000 of sheep produce to us 120,000,000 pounds of wool, of which 9,000,000 are in fine or improved wool. This constitutes a raw produce, worth 129,000,000. Some of the highly-improved descriptions are derived from the amelioration of 1,500,000 sheep, an amelioration still progressively increasing, and which has begun to be felt only within the last few years.

The system continues to be carefully followed up, which places the means of improvement within the reach of the agriculturist, in those cases where private industry would be unable to act with effect.

In the course of the present year, 28 dépôts of merino rams have improved the race by 54,000 sheep.

The type of the finest descriptions is preserved in numerous establishments, formed by large proprietors, and in ten bergeries belonging to the State.

The breeding of horses was singularly neglected at the period of our troubles. The administration has been successfully engaged in the re-establishment of the most useful races.

A number of picked stallions ensures every year the amelioration of the produce of 60,000 mares. The dépôts kept up by Government contain alone 1,400 stallions.

The number of our horned cattle has increased considerably. The care taken of them is better understood, and the average term of their existence has been prolonged. Twenty years ago the exportation and importation were nearly equal; at present, the exportation amounts to 10,000,000, and triples the importation.

We used to import butter and cheese to a much larger amount than we exported; the reverse is the case now; in 1812, our exportations equalled 10,000,000.

Our iron mines, which in 1789 furnished 1,960,000 quintals of *fonte en gueuse*, and 160,000 quintals of *fonte*

moultée, produce now 2,860,000 quintals of the former, and 400,000 of the latter. An augmentation by more than one-half.

Our coal-mines likewise produce 50,000,000, being five times the value of what France raised in 1790; the greater part of this augmentation, however, proceeds from the territories annexed to France.

In this account of the produce of our industry, I have been able to speak only of a few of the principal articles. I have necessarily overlooked the great number of those which, when taken separately, are of minor importance, but when collected, offer a large aggregate value.

The total presents a value of 5,081,000,000 in raw produce, and in produce in the first stage of manufacture, derived from our own fair soil.

MANUFACTURES.

It has already been observed that the raw produce for the supply of our silk manufactures is an affair of 30,000,000 for France. From the kingdom of Italy we receive 10,000,000 of spun and thrown silks. These 40,000,000, by fabrication, acquire a value of 124,000,000. We have, therefore, a profit upon the workmanship of 84,000,000, the raw produce being tripled in value.

In 1812, we exported silk stuffs, plain or mixed, to the value of 70,000,000. The city of Lyons now keeps 11,500 looms at work; in 1800, there were only 5,500.

Our manufactories of cloth have considerably increased in number. A more general diffusion of comparative opulence has exercised a powerful influence on our internal consumption, particularly in the finer descriptions.

The number of looms now kept at work for the fabrication of cloths and other wool stuffs, is more than double what it was in 1800.

We sell annually to foreigners cloths to the value of

28,000,000. Formerly, our average annual exportation of cloths amounted only to 19,000,000.

We have naturalized the fabrication of casimirs, and by ingenious machinery, we have improved the various processes of the manufacture.

Our cotton tissues have increased without our having ceased to work up the hemp and flax of our own soil.

The total value of the flax and hemp fabricated in France amounts to 232,000,000 The raw produce enters into this estimation, for 80,000,000 raised from our own soil, and 13,000,000 imported. This description of manufacture forms an item of 37,000,000 in our foreign trade. This amount of 37,000,000 is the same as in 1790. Formerly, however, we imported these tissues from abroad to the annual value of 18,000,000, now only to the extent of 7,000,000. The present has, therefore, a decided advantage over the past.

Cotton offers great and peculiar facilities to the manufacturer.

The spinning of cotton has, by the introduction of ingenious machinery, been brought to a high degree of fineness. Government have offered a premium of 1,000,000 to the inventor of a machine for spinning flax in an equally improved manner as cotton, and which would thus diminish the expense of labour necessary to the working up of our raw produce.

Until then, however, the fabrics of cotton preserve advantages which it would be dangerous for us to deny. The government have felt it their duty to combine their means so as to receive from abroad the raw produce only, but to preserve to France the entire profit of the fabrication.

For a long time it was asserted that the most important part of the labour could not be provided at home, that the weaving and even the spinning would always be better executed by foreigners. Our laws began by the exclusion of foreign tissues. Some alarm was expressed

as to the effect likely to arise from this prohibition. In a short time, however, French looms were producing cotton tissues to a degree of perfection, to which our foreign competitors have been unable to attain.

They continued meanwhile to furnish the thread with which these tissues were fabricated. The prohibition was decreed. Since then, we are liberated from all obligation to foreigners for every description of cotton fabrics, which, far from receiving them from abroad, we now in a condition to export.

Before 1790, cotton, in thread or in wool, was introduced into France, to the value of 24,000,000. This valuation represented 12,000,000 pounds of cotton.—We received manufactured objects to the amount of 13,000,000, besides which smuggling was carried on to a very great extent.

Seventy thousand workmen were then employed in the several cotton works of France.

After our times of trouble, from the year X. till 1806, cottons were imported into France to an annual amount of 48,000,000.

We received, moreover, tissues to an amount of 46,000,000.

The importation of cotton cloths and threads was at first reduced to 1,000,000, and during the last two years it has ceased altogether. We have, on the contrary, begun to export; and our average annual exportation has amounted to 17,000,000.

Our cotton manufactories now occupy 233,000 workmen.

The method which substitutes coal for charcoal in our forges and foundries, has become confirmed.

The other mines, those of copper, alum, gypsum, the quarries of marble, &c., produce 12,000,000.

Those branches of manufacture of which the different metals constitute the raw produce—hardware, cutlery, jewellery, watchmaking, mirrors, glass, porcelaines, &c.,

have none of them become articles of exportation to a considerable annual value. Together, however, they form a mass of exportations, which before 1790 amounted to 30,000,000, and which has now reached 42,000,000.

All these articles form to us a purely industrial wealth of 1,800,000,000.

NEW INDUSTRY.

The desire of supplying our own wants without having recourse to strangers, the high degree of improvement of the mechanical and chemical arts, together with the ingenious and industrious spirit of the French, have ameliorated our ancient systems of cultivation and manufacture, by the adoption of useful inventions and new processes.

It appeared impossible to provide the home consumer with a substitute for sugar, indigo, and cochineal; or to obtain cotton from the south of Europe, and from our own soil the alkalies necessary for the supply of our markets.

In the present year the manufactories of sugar extracted from beet-root, will produce 7,000,000 of pounds weight of that article. It is prepared in 334 different establishments, all of which are in full activity.

Among colouring substances, indigo holds the first rank. Formerly, France, which received very large quantities, retained annually for herself to the amount of 9,500,000 francs. During the six years, commencing with 1802, the average amount was 18,000,000. During the five years commencing with 1808, this average fell to 6,000,000 or 7,000,000.

Means have been found to extract the genuine fecula of indigo from woad. Several manufactories are already in full activity, and produce an indigo similar, in every respect, to the most beautiful Indian indigo. The price comes to ten francs per pound. Our consumption is equal to 12,000,000 pounds of indigo; the value consequently is 120,000,000 of francs.

Scarlet was to be obtained from cochineal alone. The red of madder was less beautiful, and at the same time not so lasting. Messrs. Gonin, brothers, of Lyons, have succeeded in producing with madder all the effects of cochineal. France formerly used cochineal to the value of about 1,000,000 annually.

For some years past cotton has been cultivated in the department of Rome. The crops have reached as high a produce as 100,000 pounds weight in one year; the naturalisation of the plant has therefore been secured. France receives yearly 3,000,000 of pounds of cotton from the kingdom of Naples.

Alkali is an article essential to our manufactures, and one that was to be obtained through the medium of maritime commerce only. Twenty-five years ago we were tributary to the stranger for this article, to the extent of 3,500,000 francs. During the nine years commencing with 1802, the average importation was 5,500,000 francs. Chemistry has succeeded in obtaining this substance from materials to be found on our own soil, and that in such abundance, that alkali has fallen two-thirds in price, notwithstanding the entire prohibition of all foreign alkalies.

The aggregate value of the new productions of our soil and industry amounts, therefore, to 65,000,000, susceptible of augmentation at a very rapid progression, at the same time, we have liberated ourselves of an annual payment of 90,000,000 to foreigners, and that chiefly to England.

The other branches of our agriculture and industry will suffer no diminution in consequence. The 70,000 *arpens* now planted with beet-root, would otherwise have lain fallow; and the 30,000 *arpens* now occupied by woad, are but a minute portion of our territory, and will receive moreover additional fertility from the abundant manuring they will undergo.

Madder already exists in the country far beyond our

wants, for we export of it for more than 1,600,000 francs. This article, therefore, will only be turned to a more profitable account.

Our salt marshes produce the materials for alkali to an indefinite extent; an additional advantage which we owe to this discovery, is the opportunity of turning our valuable salt-works to better account.

COMMERCE.

The commerce of an empire whose annual produce amounts to more than 7,000,000,000, without taking into consideration so many other real or fictitious valuations which enter into the calculations of political economy, must necessarily be of immense extent.

Had we sought values purely commercial, I do not fear to say that they would have amounted to ten *milliards*.

In 1789, one of the years in which the foreign commerce of France was most considerable, it amounted only to 857,000,000 of exports, and to 400,000,000 of imports; for we must not count among the importations the 236,000,000 received from our colonies, which then formed an integral part of France.

From the imports must be deducted the bullion received from abroad in payment of some of our exports.

Deducting, therefore, 55,000,000 of gold and silver, the importation into France, in 1789, did not in reality exceed 845,000,000. The exports were 857,000,000. This is equal to a commerce of 360,000,000, considering the active and passive side of the account. Our home trade was equal to more than fifteen times this amount.

Let us compare our foreign trade of that day with what it is now.

I shall consider our colonies as a part of France, and our commerce with them as a branch of our home trade:—

In 1788, our exports amounted to 365,000,000

Our imports to 345,000,000, from which
deduct for gold and silver 55,000,000,
so that there remain 290,000,000

The exports therefore exceeded the imports

by 75,000,000

In 1789, we have just seen, the imports having been
more considerable than in 1788, the excess of exports
was only 12,000,000.

In 1812, our exports amounted to 383,000,000

Our imports, exclusively of 93,000,000 of
gold and silver, to 257,000,000

Giving a surplus exportation of 126,000,000

In 1812, accordingly, the exportation of the produce
of our own soil exceeded the largest sums to which they
had amounted at former periods

Our importation, on the contrary, has always gone
on diminishing, and is less now than it was previously
to 1790.

The balance of trade, which in 1788, the most favourable
period before the Revolution, presented a surplus
exportation of only 25,000,000, is now 126,000,000 in
our favour.

The average annual importation of the precious
metals, during the three years that preceded the Revolution,
after deducting the amount re-exported, was
65,000,000; at present, one year with another, it amounts
to 110,000,000.

It is to the territorial situation of which I have just
rendered an account, that we are indebted for the state
of our finances, for the enjoyment of the best monetary
system in Europe, for the total absence of paper-money,
and for the reduction of our debt to the limits requisite
for the purposes of capitalists. Such a situation it is
that enables us simultaneously to meet the expenses of
a maritime war, and of two continental wars, to keep
900,000 men constantly under arms, to maintain 100,000

sailors, to have a hundred ships of the line, and as many frigates building, or in commission, and to spend every year from 120,000,000 to 150,000,000 in public works.

PUBLIC WORKS

Since the accession of his Majesty to the Imperial throne, there have been expended:

On imperial palaces and other buildings	
of the crown.....	62,000,000
On fortifications	144,000,000
On maritime ports	117,000,000
On roads	277,000,000
On bridges	31,000,000
On canals, navigation, and draining....	123,000,000
On the works of Paris	102,000,000
On public edifices in the departments and principal cities	149,000,000
 Total.....	 1,005,000,000

IMPERIAL PALACES AND WORKS OF THE CROWN.

The Louvre is in the course of completion ; it will cost 50,000,000 of francs, including the value of the houses to be pulled down. The sum already expended is 21,400,000 francs.

The Tuilleries have been disengaged of the buildings that obstructed the approach ; 6,700,000 francs have been expended for this purpose.

The foundations have been laid for the palace of the king of Rome, opposite to the bridge of Jena.

Versailles is undergoing repair, on which 5,200,000 francs have been expended.

The machine of Marly, which supplies the waters, is to be replaced by a steam-engine. The expense will be 3,000,000 ; on the works 2,450,000 francs have been expended.

Fontainebleau and Compeigne have been repaired. The expense incurred has been 10,600,000 francs.

The palaces of St Cloud, Trianon, Rambouillet, Stupinis, Lacken, Strasburg, and Rome have led to an outlay of 10,800,000 francs.

The jewels of the crown, pledged during the period of our troubles, have been redeemed, and purchases have been made to complete them.

The *mobilier* of the crown, which, according to the statutes, is to be of the value of 30,000,000, has been, completed.

30,000,000 have been expended on pictures, statues, and objects of art and antiquity, which have been added to the immense collection of the Musée Napoleon.

All these expenses have been defrayed from the funds of the crown, and of the extraordinary domain.

MILITARY WORKS.

The care of securing our frontiers has never for an instant being lost sight of.

Extensive works have consolidated the system of defence of the Helder, the key of Holland. On these 4,800,000 francs have been expended. That place may henceforth be considered unassailable. The forts of Lasalle, l'Ecluse, Duquesne, and Morland, which defend the entrance to the Zuyderzee, and the fort of the Texel, may resist a regular siege of sixty days. In the present year they will be made equal to a resistance of ninety days,—the point which it is desired they should attain. Had these works been executed fifteen years ago, Holland would not have lost two fleets.

The works undertaken to complete the docks of Antwerp, have cost 8,400,000. This is now one of our strongest fortresses.

Flushing has been an object of particular attention to our engineer officers. Since 1809, we have expended upon it 11,300,000 francs. The place can maintain a

siege of an hundred days, with open trenches; bomb-proof casements have been constructed for 6,000 men. Nothing of all this existed in 1809.

Great improvements have been made at Ostende. Two stone forts have been built on the downs. 4,000,000 have been expended there.

The port of Cherbourg has been enclosed, and, by an expenditure of 13,700,000 francs, has been placed in a condition to sustain a siege. Four forts have been completed on the heights since the commencement of the present year.

At Brest, Belle-Isle, Quiberon, and Rochelle, there have been improvements; new forts are rising at Isle d'Aix, Isle d'Oleron, at the mouth of the Gironde, at Toulon, at the Isles d'Hières, at Spezzia, and at Porto-ferrajo.

On all our posts the most important batteries have been strengthened by the erection of towers, bomb-proof, and armed with cannon.

Every year the strength of Corfu is increased. Intrenched camps cover the place.

On the land-side, our line of defence along the Rhine has everywhere received additional strength. Kehl is completed. Works have been executed at Cassel, at an expense of 5,700,000 francs; at Mayence 3,800,000 francs have been expended; and at Juliers and Wesel 4,700,000 francs.

The works of Alessandria, on which 25,000,000 have been expended, continue to receive further improvements.

Places of minor importance have received the fortifications which their position rendered necessary. The expenditure thus incurred has been 71,000,000.

NAVAL WORKS AND THOSE CONNECTED WITH THE SEA-PORTS.

The vast plans adopted by his Majesty relative to

the establishment of Cherbourg, amount to 73,000,000. A harbour, cut into the rock with a depth of twenty-eight feet below the level of low water, will be ready in a few months for the reception of our largest vessels. 26,000,000 have been expended. The dyke, which will render the roadstead equally secure against the attacks of the enemy, and the action of the tempest, together with all the buildings necessary to the establishment of a large port, will be complete in less than ten years

There was no maritime establishment at Antwerp. That city now encloses an arsenal, in which twenty ships of the line are building at the same time, with a floating-dock in which all our ships are moored. Already forty-two ships of the line might find a safe asylum there. These works have cost 18,000,000.

Flushing has been re-established. At an expense of 5,600,000 francs quays and magazines have been built; the dock-gates have been lowered by four feet, so that vessels of the largest size may now enter, which was never the case before. Six vessels can enter or go out every tide.

Nature herself points out the Nieuw Dypp as the port, arsenal, and naval store-house of Holland; but bordered by bad dykes, unprovided with quays, it presented a very insecure station to shipping. Works have been constructed there to the extent of 1,500,000 francs; twenty-five ships of the line can already moor close to the quay in perfect security. In three years the works of the Nieuw Dypp will be terminated.

The port of Havre was seldom accessible to frigates. A bar was continually forming at the entrance to the channel. This has now been obviated. The quays and docks are still in a course of construction. The works already executed amount to 6,300,000 francs, and in two years the whole will be terminated.

A considerable part of the territory which covers the beach at Dunkirk was a mere marsh. Its port was

choked up. 5,000,000 have been set aside for the construction of a sluice at the extremity of the channel, and to effect the draining of the marsh. The expenditure already incurred is 4,500,000 francs, and 500,000 more will complete the works before the close of the year.

The entrance to the port of Ostende was rapidly filling with mud, and the whole place had suffered greatly from long neglect; the fine sluice of Slikens was in want of repair. On these works 3,600,000 francs have been expended.

The port of Marseilles, in itself extremely narrow, had become altogether insufficient in consequence of the accumulation of mud. An expenditure of 1,500,000 francs has there been incurred.

In addition to the extensive plans I have just indicated, 50,000,000 have been distributed to the other maritime establishments, at Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, Genoa, Spezzia, Dieppe, Calais, St. Valery, Bayonne, and the numerous minor ports that cover our coasts.

ROADS.

In the Alps, the road from Paris to Milan by the Simplon, that from Paris to Turin by the Maurienne and Mont Cenis, that from Spain to Italy by the Mont Genèvre, are completely open. These roads have cost 22,400,000 francs. The original plan contemplated an expenditure of 30,600,000 francs. The building of hospitals, and a few improvements that remain to be made, will absorb the 8,200,000 that remain.

On the road from Lyons to Genoa, by Lantares, 1,800,000 francs have been expended out of the 3,500,000, which the whole is to cost.

That from Cezanne to Fenestrelles, by the Col de Sestrière, will complete the preceding. It will be completed in 1813, and will have cost 1,800,000 francs.

The road from Nice to Genoa, will cost 15,500,000 francs. By an expenditure of 6,500,000, the communi-

cation has already been established between Nice and Vintimiglia, and between Genoa and Savona. The 9,000,000 that remain, will complete this road, which will then lead from Marseilles to Rome, without once quitting a mild climate.

In the Apennines, the road from Savona to Alessandria, is open. The estimate was 4,000,000; the expenditure has been 2,600,000 francs.

The road from Port Maurice to Ceva, that from Genoa to Alessandria, through the Col de Giovi, that from Genoa to Plaisance, and that from Spezzia to Parma, all of which open communications between the sea coast and the interior of our Italian departments, are in a course of construction. The estimates of these plans amount to 18,600,000 francs. Already 8,000,000 have been expended. The road from Spezzia to Parma will be open in the course of the present year.

There existed no road from Bordeaux to Bayonne; the sandy plains were traversed with great difficulty, and occasioned incalculable delays; 8,000,000 have been set aside for the construction of a paved road; 4,200,000 have already been expended; the road will be complete in 1814; it would have been so before now, if the quarries of stone which will insure the good and solid construction of the road, had earlier been discovered.

From Antwerp to Amsterdam, sandy plains and marshes, intersected by dykes and ditches, rendered the communication slow and difficult, if they did not entirely intercept it. Two thirds of the road, which it has been found necessary to open, have already been paved. The whole will be finished in 1813. Of the 6,300,000 francs, the estimated cost, 4,300,000 have already been expended.

The road from Wesel to Hamburg, had no existence three years ago. The whole is now open, and on many points it is completely finished. The whole cost is to be 9,800,000 francs. The works already executed have cost

6,000,000. From Maestricht to Wesel, a regular road had not even been traced through the sand; a road has now been made at an expense of 2,100,000 francs.

The road from Paris to Germany was scarcely marked out between Metz and Mayence; an expenditure of 5,000,000 has made it one of the finest roads in the empire.

Independently of these undertakings, 219,000,000 francs have been laid out, during the last nine years, on the numerous roads which traverse the empire in every direction, and which every year receive additional improvements.

BRIDGES.

12,000,000 have been expended on the construction of bridges, now completely finished, at Verrelli and Tortona, over the Sesia and Scrivia, at Tours, over the Loire, and at Lyons, over the Saone, near the Archbishop's palace; and on the bridges all along the road from Lyons to Marseilles, formerly so uncertain, on account of the rivers and torrents by which it was intersected.

Two large bridges are building in our departments beyond the Alps; that at Turin over the Po, on which 1,850,000 francs have been expended, and which is to cost 3,500,000; and that at Ardisson, over the Doire, on which 820,000 francs have been expended, and which will be finished this year, at an entire cost of 1,100,000 francs.

One *culée* and several piles of the bridge of Bordeaux, having already been constructed, offer a guarantee for the entire success of the work. The expense has been 1,000,000 francs. This bridge, the construction of which was long deemed impossible, will cost 6,000,000.

The bridge of Rouen, including the necessary repairs to the quays, will cost 5,000,000; the expense hitherto incurred, has been 800,000 francs.

The stone bridge at Roanne, on the road from Paris

to Lyons, has already cost 1,500,000 francs, and will be finished for 900,000 more.

12,000,000, in addition to the above, have been expended on various bridges of minor importance.

CANALS.

The canal of St. Quentin, has united the Rhone to the Schelde, Antwerp with Marseilles, and has made Paris the centre of this great communication. Its construction has cost 11,000,000. The navigation of this canal, three leagues of which are carried under ground, is now completely open. During the eight first months of the year 1812, 756 boats laden with coal, and 231 with corn, have followed this new route, which has likewise been frequented by other branches of trade.

The canal of the Somme, which will unite that of St. Quentin to the Pont de St. Valery, will cost 5,000,000; on the works already executed, 1,200,000 francs have been expended.

The canal from Mons to Condé, which will open the Schelde to the rich coal-mines of Jemappes, will cost 5,000,000, of which 3,000,000 francs have been expended.

Numerous locks have been constructed to improve the navigation of the Seine, the Aube, and the Marne. These improvements are still proceeding. The estimated expense is 15,000,000, of which 6,000,000 have been expended. Of the locks already built, that of the Pont de l'Arche is remarkable, on account of its large dimensions.

The Canal Napoléon will be finished in four years. It will join the Rhone to the Rhine; will cost 17,000,000 of which 10,500,000 francs have been expended; and the funds for the remaining 6,500,000 have been secured.

The Burgundy Canal, an important communication between the Saone and the Loire, between the Canal Napoléon and Paris, will cost 24,000,000. The expenditure down to the end of 1812, had been 6,800,000.

Special funds exist for the remaining 17,200,000 francs, and the whole of the works will be finished in ten years.

There will soon be a communication by water between St. Malo and the mouth of the Vilaine, without sailing round the coast of Bretagne. The Canal de la Rama will be finished in two years, at an expense of 8,000,000, of which 5,000,000 have already been expended.

The Blavet has been *canalized*. The navigation of the new city of Napoléon (Pontivy), is in activity. 500,000 francs remain to be expended, which, with the 2,800,000 already laid out, will make up the original estimate of 3,300,000 francs.

The works of the canal from Brest to Nantes, have just been commenced, and are to cost 28,000,000. The outlay already incurred has been 1,200,000 francs.

The canal from Niort to Rochelle, quite as important to the draining of a large extent of country, as to navigation, is to cost 9,000,000; 1,500,000 francs have already been expended.

Similar advantages are attached to the execution of the Canal d'Arles. Together with the port of Boue, where it will terminate, the cost will be 8,500,000 francs, of which 3,800,000 have been expended.

A convenient navigation is to be formed along the whole valley of the Cher. It will bring several coal mines and forests, which it is now difficult to turn to account, nearer to the Loire. The expense is to be 6,000,000; the outlay hitherto has been 1,100,000 francs.

DRAININGS.

The principal drainings undertaken by government, are those of Rochefort and Cotentin. The estimates amount to 11,500,000 francs. The works already executed have cost 5,600,000 francs. Rochefort, in particular, has already derived great advantages from them.

An expenditure of 5,800,000 francs has been incurred by the repairs of the dykes of the Schelde, and those of

the Blankenberg; those of the Po have cost 1,000,000; these dikes protect whole tracts of country against the invasion of the sea or rivers.

The peninsula of Perrache, destined for the enlargement of Lyons, was covered by the waters of the Saone. The execution of a plan, which will cost 4,000,000, will secure it against this inconvenience. 2,000,000 have been expended on the construction of an embankment, and in commencing the elevation of the ground.

In addition to the 67,000,000 employed in the works I have just been enumerating, 55,000,000 have been distributed on numerous other enterprises.

WORKS AT PARIS.

The capital was deficient in a circulation of water through its various quarters, in halls, in markets, and in the means of order and police for some of its chief wants of consumption.

The rivers Beuvronne, Thérouenne, and Ourcq, will be conducted to Paris. The first, already, is arrived there. Three principal fountains pour forth their abundant waters uninterruptedly; sixty secondary fountains distribute them.

The union of the waters brought to Paris will supply the Canal de l'Ourcq, now completed in its whole course, as far as the Bassin de la Villette. From this basin a branch has already been dug, which will unite the canal to the Seine, at a point close to St. Denys. Another branch will unite it with the Seine near the Bridge of Austerlitz.

These two branches will abridge the navigation by three leagues of sinuosities formed by the Seine, and by all the time taken up in passing the bridges of Paris.

These works will cost 38,000,000 francs, and will be finished in five years. The works already executed have cost 19,500,000 francs. The city of Paris pays these expenses out of the revenue derived from its octroi.

Five large buildings are destined to receive, on their arrival at Paris, all the animals intended for the consumption of the city. Their construction will cost 18,500,000 francs, of which one half has already been expended.

A hall large enough to shelter 200,000 pieces of wine or brandy, will cost 12,000,000 francs. The trade already partially enjoys the convenience of this hall. The expense hitherto incurred has been 4,000,000 francs.

The cupola of the corn-market has just been reconstructed in iron, at an expense of 800,000 francs.

A hall for articles of food will occupy the whole space between the Marché des Innocens and the Halle aux Grains. The expense will be 12,000,000 francs. For the houses which required to be pulled down, 2,600,000 francs have been paid.

All the other quarters of Paris will have their several markets. The constructions already made, amount to 4,000,000; for the entire execution of the plan, 8,500,000 francs will be necessary.

The 46,800,000 francs which the halls, markets, and slaughtering houses will cost the city of Paris, will obtain for it a revenue of nearly 3,000,000 francs, without any additional tax on the articles of consumption. The rent paid by the dealers will amount to less than the expenses they are now subjected to.

The construction of the magazines of reserve for corn, together with that of the windmills and the magazines of St. Maur, will complete the system of edifices relating to the supply of Paris with food.

The magazines of reserve are an affair of 8,000,000, of which 2,300,000 have been expended.

The mills and the magazines of St. Maur together will likewise cost 8,000,000; the works already made have required 1,000,000.

The bridges of Austerlitz, of the Arts, and of Jena, connect quarters of Paris which the Seine separated

from each other; in their construction 8,500,000 francs have been employed. The bridge of Jena still requires 1,400,000 francs of accessory expenses.

On the construction of quays 11,000,000 have been expended; for about 4,000,000 more they will be completed along both sides of the Seine.

Five new lyceums are about to be established. In the purchase of property 500,000 francs have been laid out; the entire cost will be 5,000,000.

The church of St. Genevieve, that of St. Denys, the archbishop's palace, and the cathedral, are undergoing repair. Of the 7,500,000 francs destined for this purpose, 6,700,000 francs have been expended; with the remaining 800,000 francs the repairs will be complete in the course of the present year.

Hotels are building for the minister of foreign affairs, and for the administration of the post-office. The foundations have been laid, and an expense of 2,800,000 francs incurred; their estimated cost, when complete, will be 9,200,000 francs.

A palace to receive the archives of the Empire will cost 20,000,000. Of this sum provision has already been made for 1,000,000.

The front of the palace of the legislative body, the column in the Place Vendome, the Temple of Glory, the Bourse, the obelisk of the Pont Neuf, the triumphal arch at l'Etoile, the fountain of the Bastile, together with the statues intended to decorate these monuments, will cost 35,500,000 francs. A sum of 19,900,000 francs has already been expended in advancing or completing their construction.

On the other works of Paris a sum of 15,000,000 has been expended.

VARIOUS WORKS IN THE DEPARTMENTS.

In the departments the attention of government has been particularly directed to the dépôts of mendicity and

the prisons. Fifty dépôts have been built, and are now in full activity; thirty-four are in the course of construction, and the erection of forty-two more is under consideration. Seven departments appear as yet to stand in no need of them. On these works 12,000,000 have been laid out, in addition to which, 17,000,000 are required to complete them.

The most important prisons are those intended to receive offenders condemned to more than one year of detention.

Twenty-three establishments of this kind will suffice for the whole Empire. They will contain 16,000 prisoners. Eleven of these houses are now in activity, nine more are nearly ready, three are as yet only planned.

When these are finished, the ordinary prisons, the houses of correction, of arrest, and of justice, will cease to be over-crowded, and may then be more easily and more suitably distributed.

The number of these last buildings is 790; 292 have been repaired, or are in good condition; 291 require to be repaired, 207 to be rebuilt.

The expenses incurred have been 6,000,000; those still required, 24,000,000.

For the building of the new city of Napoleon in the Vendée, and for the formation of roads leading to it, 12,500,000 francs have been set aside. The expense already incurred has been 7,500,000 francs.

A sum of 1,800,000 francs has been accorded to be distributed in premiums to such of the inhabitants of the departments of Vendée and Deux Sèvres, who should be the first to reconstruct their habitations, 1,500,000 francs have already been distributed.

To the thermal establishments, 1,500,000 francs have already been advanced, upon the 8,600,000 francs which the repairs are to cost.

It was necessary to preserve the ruins of ancient Rome from all further dilapidation. These works, to-

gether with those necessary to the navigation of the Tiber, and to the embellishment of the second city of the Empire, will cost 6,000,000 francs. 2,000,000 have been realized.

The 118,000,000 expended on other works in the cities and departments, have been applied to the numerous edifices necessary to the administration, to religion, to justice, and to commerce, which in all our cities have a claim upon the solicitude of government.

Such has been the use made of the 1,000,000,000 francs consecrated to public works of every kind, since the accession of his Majesty, and of the 80,000,000 which have completed the *mobilier*, and augmented the rich collections of the crown.

To those enterprises which leave great and durable results, 485,000,000 have been more especially devoted.

The general estimate of the plans of this description is 1,061,000,000 francs; a sum of 576,000,000, therefore, will be still necessary to their termination. The experience of the past teaches us that a few years more will be sufficient for the purpose.

These works, gentlemen, are distributed over every part of this vast Empire. Delegated from all the departments of which it is composed, you are aware that no part of the country has been forgotten. Life is thus infused into new France as into the old; to Rome, to the Hanseatic departments, and to Holland, the influence is extended, as to Paris and our ancient cities. All are equally present and dear to the thoughts of the Emperor; his solicitude knows no repose, so long as any good remains to be done.

INTERIOR ADMINISTRATION.

The different sects of religion have received marks of interest and protection. Supplements have been granted from the Imperial treasury to the *curés* beyond the Alps, whose incomes were insufficient.

The decree of the 7th November, 1811, by subjecting the communes to the payment of the *vicaires*, where such are required, has insured the enjoyment of their full income to ancient *curés*, disabled by age or infirmities from fulfilling their functions without assistance.

Episcopal palaces and seminaries have been bought.

Everything is ready for the definitive organization of the Reformed and Lutheran religions in the north; provisional stipends have been assigned to their pastors.

The number of lawsuits has sensibly diminished; their decision is more prompt, and their discussion less embarrassed; this is one of the benefits of our new civil code. Every one is now acquainted with his rights, and knows better when and how to exercise them.

Government has received complaints of the excessive expenses occasioned by the charges of advocates, and by the fees to officers of justice.

The Emperor has directed the Grand Judge to consider of means to lessen these expenses.

Criminal proceedings are even more sensibly reduced in number than civil law suits. In 1801, the population amounted to 34,000,000 of individuals, in that year there occurred 8,500 criminal proceedings, in which 12,400 prisoners were implicated. In 1811, with a population of 42,000,000, there occurred only 6,000, in which 8,600 prisoners were interested.

In 1801, of the accused 8,000 were condemned; in 1811, the number was 5,550. In 1801, there were 882 sentences of death; in 1811, only 392. This diminution has been progressive each year; and were it necessary to adduce additional proofs of the influence of our laws and our prosperity on the maintenance of public order, we would remark, that this progressive decrease has more particularly manifested itself in the departments united to our territory, and becomes greater in proportion as their incorporation with France becomes more ancient.

The administration of the departments, of the com-

munes, and of the establishments of charity, is active and vigilant, and zealously contributes to the ameliorations with which the government is occupied.

The municipal treasuries are superintended with the same care as those of other offices entrusted with public money.

There are 850 cities whose revenues exceed 10,000 francs ; the greater part of their budgets for 1813 are already made up.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

In 1809, the pupils of the lyceums were in number only 9,500, of whom 2,700 were day-scholars, and 6,800 boarders.

At present the number of pupils is 18,000, including 10,000 day-scholars and 8,000 boarders.

510 colleges afford instruction to 50,000 pupils, of whom 12,000 are boarders.

1,867 boarding-schools and private institutions are frequented by 47,000 pupils.

Primary schools, to the number of 31,000, afford the first degree of instruction to 920,000 boys ; thus a million of the youth of France are now receiving the benefits of public instruction.

The normal school of the university is educating distinguished pupils in science and literature, and in the manner of teaching these ; each year they carry with them to the lyceums good habits and improved methods.

The thirty-five academies of the university have 9,000 auditors ; two-thirds of these pupils follow the lectures on law and medicine.

The polytechnic school furnishes every year to the special schools of engineers, of artillery, of the bridges and roads, and of the mines, 150 young men, deserving of recommendation on account of the knowledge they have already acquired.

The schools of St. Cyr, St. Germain, and of La Flèche furnish every year 1,500 young men for the military career.

The pupils of the veterinary schools have been doubled in number. The interests of agriculture have dictated a better organisation for these schools.

The Academy della Crusca at Florence, the depositary of the purest idiom of the Italian language, the Institute of Amsterdam, the Academy of St. Duke at Rome, have received new regulations, and sufficient endowments.

The labours of the Institute of France continue. One third of its dictionary is complete, and the remainder may be terminated in two years. Many of the members are occupied with investigations relative to our language and history.

The translations of Strabo and Ptolemæus are an honour to the useful literati charged with the task. The sixteenth volume of the Collection of the Ordinances of the Kings of France has been published.

THE NAVY.

France has suffered great losses from events that have occurred, in consequence of which many of her best naval officers and seamen have perished.

Since that period, our fleets have been manned by crews possessed of little experience. The insufficiency of the maritime inscription has been recognised, and every year the resources which it offered have gone on decreasing; this is the inevitable result of the constant superiority of the enemy, and of the almost total destruction of our maritime commerce.

It is impossible longer to disguise from ourselves the fact, that we must either despair of re-establishing our navy during the war, or that we must have recourse to new measures. In choosing the first alternative, we should have acted like the administration under Louis XIV.

and Louis XV. Discouraged by the defeat of La Hogue, and by the events of the war in 1758,—on both occasions the navy was abandoned. All constructions were suspended, and the resources of the state applied to the land-army, and to the other departments. The consequences of such an abandonment, however, were most fatal to the glory and prosperity of France.

Scarcely anything can be done at Brest, at least everything is attended with great difficulty there, when that port is blockaded by a fleet of superior force.

The good administration of the finances of the Empire enables us to meet the expenses occasioned by the establishment of a large navy, and at the same time to defray the charges of continental wars; the energy of our government, its firm and persevering resolution, have alone enabled it to overcome yet greater obstacles.

The administration of the navy has felt, however, the necessity of adopting a permanent and well-combined system, by which the construction and re-establishment of our ports, the construction of vessels, and the training of sailors, might be made to proceed simultaneously.

In the Channel, nature has done everything *for* England and *against* us. As early as the reign of Louis XVI., the importance was felt of having a port on that part of the ocean. The plan of Cherbourg had been adopted, and the foundation of the dikes had been laid. During the period, however, of our civil disturbances, these works, having been interrupted, had fallen into decay. Doubt and uncertainty were thereby thrown over the whole affair, and it became even questionable whether it would not have been better to have preferred La Hogue to Cherbourg.

The attention of government was directed to these important questions. The decision in favour of Cherbourg was confirmed, and no time was lost in resuming the works for raising the dike that was to give shelter to the roadstead.

This roadstead, however, was liable to the usual inconveniences of an open harbour ; the careening of vessels was impossible, or attended with great difficulties. The administration allowed itself to be arrested neither by expense nor by local difficulties ; a port was dug out of the rock, capable of containing fifty ships of war, and dockyards sufficient for the construction of a fleet.

After ten years of unremitting labour, success has justified all these undertakings. A fleet of ships is now upon the stocks at Cherbourg, and the docks will this year be ready for the reception of the most numerous squadron. It is much to have provided for the want of a Channel port, so sensibly felt ever since the battle of La Hogue ; but it was no less important to have a port in the North Sea, and to be able to take advantage of the numerous and secure roadsteads of the Schelde.

On the docks of Flushing and Antwerp many millions have been expended. Twenty ships of the line may now be built simultaneously in the dockyards of Antwerp, and more than sixty may find a shelter in the ports of Antwerp and Flushing.

The administration felt that there existed in Holland only one port, one dockyard, one remedy for all local inconveniences, and the maritime resources of Holland were, therefore, concentrated in the Nieuw Dypp. Although it is only two years since this plan was conceived, we already enjoy all its advantages ; and thus a new port has been placed in our hands at the extremity of the North Sea.

The engineers of our army have accelerated these works with the greatest and most laudable activity. The Helder, Flushing, Antwerp, and Cherbourg are in a condition to secure our fleets from insult, and to give our army time to arrive to their assistance, were it from the most remote parts of Italy or Poland. All that art could do to add to the natural advantages of Toulon and Brest, has been done by the ancient administration.

Such was not the case at the mouth of the Charente. The roadstead of Isle d'Aix was not fitted for the reception of a large number of vessels. The administration felt the necessity of having a more secure shelter in the Bay of Biscay.

The harbour of Saumouard was examined and fortified. So also the roads of the Gironde, and an internal communication was effected for the largest vessels ; so that the harbours of Isle-d'Aix, Saumouard, Talemont, and the Gironde, may be said to form one and the same port.

Next to Toulon, Spezzia is the finest harbour in the Mediterranean. Fortifications, on the land side and towards the sea, became necessary, to place our ships in safety there. These fortifications are already in a condition to offer a suitable resistance.

Thus, scarcely six years have elapsed since the permanent system of a maritime war was determined on, before the ports of Texel, the Schelde, Cherbourg, Brest, Toulon, and Spezzia, have been secured, and been made to combine every desirable property in a naval and military point of view.

While the construction and fortification of the ports were proceeding, dockyards were established for the building of ships. Under the ancient government we were reduced to less than twenty-five.

Brest could, at most, offer the means for effecting repairs. It was necessary to renounce every idea of construction, or to establish on the Schelde, dockyards where twenty ships of the line could be built at one and the same time. These dockyards, supplied by the Rhine and the Meuse, and all their tributaries of France and Germany, are always abundantly provided at reasonable prices.

It was found possible to build, in the dockyards of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, frigates and seventy-fours, according to our model, while the establishments of the Nieuw Dyp were getting ready.

In the dockyards of Cherbourg, seventy-fours, and three-deckers of eighty, are building.

Vessels are building at Venice and Genoa, whereby advantage is taken of all the resources of Albania, Istria, Friuli, the Julian Alps, and the Apennines.

The dockyards of Lorient, Rochefort, and Toulon, continue to display all the activity of which they are susceptible, and to employ all the materials furnished by their respective rivers.

In a few years we shall have 150 ships of the line, including twelve three-deckers, and a still larger number of frigates.

At the period of its greatest prosperity, the French navy never had more than five three deckers.

It will be easy for us to construct and equip from fifteen to twenty large ships of the line every year.

The administration has thus been successful so far as construction was concerned; but the most difficult part of the task remained to be accomplished.

The question was, where could sailors be found to man these fleets? Camps and exercise form an army in the course of a few years; but where shall we find an equivalent for camps and exercises, in the case of naval troops?

The administration conceived the idea of recruiting the naval in the same manner as the military force; to have recourse to the conscription, but without abandoning the resources of the maritime inscription.

The departments bordering on the sea were in a measure exempted from the military conscription, and the whole of their young men summoned by the maritime conscription.

The most experienced seamen wished this conscription to be put into force at the age of ten or twelve, maintaining that it was impossible to make a sailor of a grown man. But how was it possible to think of crowding sixty or eighty thousand children into our

vessels? The expense of their education during ten years, and above all the waste of labour, would have been frightful.

A middle course was resolved on. Youths of sixteen and seventeen were taken by the maritime conscription. There was reason to hope, that after a navigation of four or five years, when they would have attained the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, the state would have been provided with skilful seamen.

But how were we to send so large a number of young men to sea, when the ocean was almost everywhere closed against us?

Flotillas were built. Five or six hundred brigs, gun-boats, and goelettes navigated the Zuyderzee, the Schelde, the harbours of Boulogne, Brest, and Toulon, protecting and keeping alive our coasting trade.

At the same time, our squadrons were equipped in the ports of Toulon, the Charente, the Schelde, and the Zuyderzee. The crews always kept on board, and manoeuvring in presence of the enemy, have justified the hopes conceived of them. Our conscripts have become sailors. The youths of eighteen, after a service of five years, have now attained the age of twenty-three or twenty-four, and perform every manœuvre with remarkable agility and address. Our ships perform their evolutions with as much promptitude and precision, as at any period of the history of our navy.

During the five years, since the adoption of this system, 80,000 young men, drawn by the conscription, have been added to our maritime population.

It required great constancy of purpose, to submit to all the sacrifices which such a system imposed upon us.

Of our hundred ships of the line, we have now sixty-five armed, equipped, and provisioned for six months, always ready for sea, getting under weigh every day,— and no one knows, when the anchor is raised, whether it be merely as an exercise, or for a remote expedition.

Let England have what number she please of ships and troops, let her give to her commerce whatever direction it may suit her to give to it, but we shall not fail to assert the same rights.

It has appeared to me, gentlemen, that a simple statement of our internal situation, supported by details and figures, with a statement of our naval and military situation, would be sufficient to make you comprehend the immensity of our resources, the solidity of our system, and the gratitude which we owe to a vigilant government, whose labours are uninterruptedly consecrated to all that is great and useful to the glory of the Empire.

III.

Budgets under the Consulate and the Empire.

1800	.....	600,000,000 fr.
1801	.....	545,000,000
1802	.....	508,000,000 ⁽¹⁾
1803	.....	589,000,000 ⁽²⁾
1804	.....	700,000,000
1805	..	680,000,000
1806	.....	689,095,913
1807	.....	720,000,000 ⁽³⁾
1808	.....	772,744,445 ⁽⁴⁾
1809	.....	786,740,214
1810	.....	795,414,093 ⁽⁵⁾
1811	.....	954,000,000 ⁽⁶⁾
1812	.....	1,080,000,000 ⁽⁷⁾
1813	.....	1,150,000,000

(1) The receipts nearly equalled this sum. An approach was made to an equilibrium. In no European

state were the finances so prosperous, or so little onerous to the public. Previously to the Revolution, a population of 25,000,000 had paid annually more to the treasury, than 30,000,000 paid in 1802.

(2) Receipts and expenditure equalized. The augmentations was occasioned by the appropriation of large sums to the roads, to internal navigation, to the canals, to the harbours. Lastly, the breaking out of the war with England caused an augmentation of 85,000,000, which increased the budget for this year to 624,500,000 francs.

(3) The augmentation was caused by the war, by new liquidations of the debt, by the payment of 10,000,000 as an endowment to the sinking fund, by increased salaries to the judges, &c.

(4) The Empire now consisted of 114 departments.

(5) The budgets of 1808, 1809, and 1810, had been fixed at 740,000,000. This sum had been exceeded in consequence of the incorporation of several countries with the Empire.

(6) The budgets of Rome, the Illyrian provinces, and of Holland, were included in this amount. Since 1802, the territory had been augmented by 15,000 square leagues, and the population by 15,000,000.

(7) Until 1811, the financial course had been regular; the receipts and expenses were equal in amount; everything had been reduced to order. From 1812, every calculation had been baffled by the disasters of war.

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